Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-94-221 *16 November 1994*

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CSCE 'Minsk Nine' in Moscow To Discuss Karabakh

NC1511181694 Baku TURAN in English 1506 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow (November 15) TURAN—Armenian-Azeri negotiations in Moscow on the level of Deputy Foreign Ministers on the agreement the provisions of Major Political Agreement (MPA) was over resultless yesterday, TURAN was told by the sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry. According to the same source, opening the "Minsk nine" of the CSCE is expected today in Moscow. Head of the CSCE Minsk group Anders Bjorner will talk at the session.

The main subject of the session will be coordination of the CSCE's and Russia's peacekeeping efforts in the settlement the Armenian-Azeri conflict. At the same time, assessing the way of political settlement of Armenian-Azeri conflict, Gasan Gasanov refuted the opinion of Russian President's Special Envoy Vladimir Kazimirov that "the CSCE has not a plan and has only a schedule." Gasanov noted that "the CSCE's schedule is more important, as the exact dates and terms of any measures, including withdrawal of troops from the occupied territories are indicated there. We need schedule first and not a plan."

The most complicated moment in Armenian-Azeri conflict at the talks is the issue concerning Shusha and Lachin cities of Azerbaijan, according to Gasanov.

As it has already been reported, Baku insists on withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied territories, including Shusha and Lachin. But Armenia thinks that Azerbaijan should agree, that Shusha and Lachin will remain in Nagorno-Karabakh, which will get the status of independent state.

"Position upon Shusha and Lachin is reflecting the strategic line of Armenia's policy and it is an attempt to implement the annexioninst ambitions of Yerevan," noted Gasanov.

Meeting Opens; Russia Issues Statement

LD1511175594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Valeriy Sevryukov and Vladimir Suprun]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—The range of issues related to the present phase of Karabakh settlement will be discussed at the consultative meeting of nine neutral European states which opened in Moscow today. The meeting is attended by the Russian president's special envoy for Nagorno-Karabakh Vladimir Kasimirov.

The meeting is "extremely important within the general context of efforts aimed at peaceful resolution of the situation in this region," Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing today.

A joint declaration of the Russian foreign and defence ministries, circulated at the briefing, states that Russia's consistency in its mediator efforts is not underlied by circumstantial calculations but is based on complete intolerance of bloodshed in Transcaucasia, and on Russia's deep-tracing and versatile historical ties with the Armenian and Azeri peoples.

Russia, the statement says, has moved numerous international initiatives in the CIS, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations, and the most comprehensive plan for staged settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh, providing a realistic basis for direct contacts between the conflicting parties. The statement says the negotiation process was advanced by Russia's mediatory efforts.

Any attempts to play down Russia's obvious role would actually imply wrecking the peace process. It prompts the need for pooling efforts of the United Nations, the CSCE, the CIS, Russia and all able to contribute to the Karabakh settlement on the basis of international law, the statement continues. Russia calls on all willing peace and stability in Transcaucasia to cooperate, the statement stresses.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 16 Nov 94

LD1611095794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0606 GMT 16 Nov 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—The newspaper ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA briefly comments on the appointment of Vladimir Polevanov to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for State Property and Vladimir Babichev - to the post of minister in charge of the staff of the Russian Government.

The newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes in its news-in-brief column that by issuing a decree on these appointments President Yeltsin seems to have completed radical cabinet reshuffle. The newspaper said that earlier, Vladimir Babichev was head of the CPSU Central Committee department for administrative and legal issues and later, was deputy director of the department for administrative and legal issues at the Gasmash enterprise belonging to the Gasprom concern.

However, the IZVESTIYA daily said that the reshuffle is not over yet. Referring to well-informed sources in the Kremlin the newspaper said that a decision was adopted in principle on the resignation of Yeltsin's press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov. The newspaper went on to say that Kostikov had met with Andrey Kozyrev and that the purpose of this meeting was obvious - to find a job for Kostikov abroad. The newspaper added that competent sources do not rule out that soon, Pavel Grachev will be

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replaced in the post of the defence minister by the commander of border guard troops, Andrey Nikolayev.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published an interview with the chairman of the Russian Committee for the Press, Sergey Gryzunov. Gryzunov referred to a statement made by Mikhail Poltoranin who had accused Yeltsin of an intention to usurp power, saying that people who had worked out ideas personified in the figure of the Russian president, turned out to be in a different boat today, coming out against their former allies.

The RED STAR [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] daily said that the Russian Army has been losing its civic personnel because their wages are much lower than that of civilians. The newspaper said that the criminal world is penetrating into the armed forces. "The miserable army budget creates a temptation for domestic mafia to win the sympathy of the military who always had their final say in crucial moments of the Russian history."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries a big article by General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army. "The newspaper quoted Lebed as saying that "we are facing a real threat of the collapse of the armed forces." [quotation marks as received] Lebed believes that a way out of the crisis is an immediate reform of the armed forces so as to create conditions for the success to depend not on the amount of allocated trillions of rubles, by on the ability to use them in the right way.

The TRUD daily comments on a report expected to be made by the Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin at the State Duma today and quotes Chairman of the Commission for Pardon under the Russian President, Anatoliy Pristavkin, as saying that "fighting against crime is more often seen on paper now than in concrete deeds."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that "the State Duma does not intend to demand Yerin's resignation for the time being, but will try to realise what is happening to crime in Russia in reality."

The newspaper ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA reports about an exhibition which is being prepared at the chief military prosecutor's office about measures to neutralize the activities of foreign intelligence services.

The newspaper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA comments on a meeting held by the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs chaired by Arkadiy Volskiy.

The PRAVDA daily carries an article by the leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in which he describes motives why his faction in the State Duma had passed a no-confidence vote in the Russian Government. "Lawmakers representing the interests of these people simply must oust this government," the newspaper quoted Zhirinovskiy as saying, adding that Zhirinovskiy has a wonderful talent to say things which this particular audience expects of him.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published a report about the circumstances of the death of American lawyer and journalist Terry Danken who was killed in front of the building of the Ostankino Television Company in Moscow on October 3 last year. The U.S. journalist was reported to have been killed when he helped to remove the wounded from areas where shooting was going on and was shot dead by a sniper bullet.

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Karasin Comments on Yeltsin Remarks on U.S. Politics

LD1511185294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by our diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russian leadership consistently favors equality and honesty in its partnership with the U.S., stability and predictability in bilateral relations, the Director of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry Grigoriy Karasin told INTERFAX Tuesday [15 November].

Commenting on the foreign policy part of the speech made by President Boris Yeltsin at the Monday conference of the Russian military command in Moscow Karasin stressed that the concern voiced in it was prompted by actual developments in American politics.

As Interfax reported, Yeltsin said that following the failure of the Democrats in the mid-term elections in the U.S. one can expect a certain tightening of the American approach to Russia on foreign policy matters. In this context the Russian president spoke for seeking constructive cooperation with the Republicans.

According to Karasin, there was nothing surprising or extraordinary in the fact that the president thought it necessary to place relations with the U.S.in the center of the foreign policy section of his speech. The diplomat found this quite natural, because it reflected the interest and attention with which the Russian leadership follows the home policy developments in the United States.

The foreign ministry spokesman said the presidential speech clearly demonstrated Moscow's willingness to constructively continue the Russian-American partnership in the new political conditions in Washington.

Midterm Results May Mean Cooling of Relations

MM1611111094 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by observer Aleksandr Golts: "Should We Expect a New Cooling?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] So, after declaring at a conference of leadership personnel of the Russian Armed Forces that the international situation is becoing complicated and that the U.S. congressional election results may lead to a hardening of U.S. approaches to Russia, Boris Yeltsin clearly and distinctly named the problem that is of concern today not just to our analysts but also to politicians, military people, and experts in international affairs all over the world. It is this: Will the change in the internal political balance of power in the United States lead to a different, less responsible foreign policy?

At first glance the Republicans' staggering victory is a strictly internal U.S. matter. Particularly as Russia and other states used to get on quite well with the Republican administration. So why the anxiety? It seems to me that it is a question not of who specifically is behind the driving wheel of U.S. politics but of ensuring that both "drivers" do not grab this wheel at the same time: in this instance the Clinton administration and the Republican-controlled Congress. At the same time there are grounds for fearing that this whole skirmish over the steering wheel will not even have been arranged in order to determine the political course but to win as many supporters as possible.

It is reckoned that approximately one year before the next presidential election Washington politicians go over to a regime in Washington whereby it is extremely difficult, if at all possible, to tackle the resolution of complex international problems. Because foreign policy is turned from a means of ensuring national interests into a means of ensuring the maximum number of votes from the electorate. It is now possible to say that as a result of such a convincing Republican win such a period has already arrived in U.S. political life. Consequently, there is a danger that the Democrats and Republicans will display that very ideologized approach to foreign policy which, so it seemed only recently, was gradually becoming obsolete.

These are not just theoretical constructs. Far from realistic approaches have already manifested themselves in U.S. politics. What price the decision to abandon the U.S. Navy's control over the fulfillment of the embargo on arms deliveries to the Bosnian Muslims? This is in conditions where not only Russia but also all the European allies of the United States are coming out quite definitely against lifting the embargo. Because it is perfectly clear that lifting it will still further kindle the fire of conflict in the former Yugoslavia, where British, French, and Russian military contingents are on a peacekeeping mission. But Washington has ignored the opinion of its NATO allies, thereby causing considerable irritation to them. It is highly significant that under the influence of this U.S. decision people at the Western European Union session started speaking in earnest of an independent military and political role for this association, which only recently was regarded as NATO's European prop.

Another example is the attitude toward Iraq. We have seen the realization of the assumptions of those people who said that, even if Baghdad recognizes Kuwait's borders while at the same time observing all formalities, even in this case we should not reckon on a relaxation of the regime of sanctions. Because Iraq will, in return, press new terms and claims, as happened during the UN Security Council session. The U.S. representative declared that the [Saddam] Husayn regime was building sumptuous palaces while the Iraqis were suffering the consequences of the sanctions. All this has no direct bearing on the demands made by the United Nations on

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Iraq in the past. Washington makes it unequivocally clear that it dislikes even a "good" Husayn who fulfills his obligations and obeys the demands of the world community. Because, according to the latest U.S. political mythology, Husayn is a fiend and cannot be otherwise.

It is natural that Moscow has its own view on these and other international problems—a view which accords with its interests—as, for example, on the prospects for expanding NATO through the East European states. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that its positions will clash with an ideologized U.S. approach, if this approach prevails in U.S. foreign policy. This carries the risk of a possible mutual cooling. But, even if this happens, I do not believe that it threatens a new Cold War: In recent years our countries have accumulated considerable potential for cooperation and mutual trust. But I do not doubt that in Moscow there will be renewed activity by politicians who will attempt to make a career out of reviving old confrontational stereotypes.

In my view Russia should demonstrate a consistent and considered approach right now, realizing the possibility of complications. Moscow must undoubtedly react—react toughly—when its interests are affected. At the same time we should hardly pay attention to those devil-may-care statements which are being made in the United States now and which will be made in the future. After all, a partnership between two great powers is too great an achievement to be sacrificed to preelection or postelection politicking. Serious politicians in America should ponder this now.

Ministry on Baltic 'Absurdity' Over Kaliningrad

LD1611084394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0610 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—"Having lost their sense of moderation and reality, Baltic parliamentarians are making pretensions to make the future of Kaliningrad Oblast 'a problem of all Europe.'" This is said in a Russian Federation Foreign Ministry statement, the text of which was received by ITAR- TASS on Tuesday.

On 13 November, the statement says, the Baltic Assembly—the parliamentary body of the Baltic States—meeting in Vilnius, passed a resolution "on the demilitarization and further development of Kaliningrad Oblast."

"Perusal of the resolution leaves no doubt but that its compilers were guided not by any concern for the development and strengthening of good-neighborly relations in the Baltic region, but pursue quite different aims, the statement says.

The Foreign Ministry considers that the Baltic Assembly resolution "cannot be appraised otherwise than as open interference in the internal affairs of the Russian Federation".

In this connection the Foreign Ministry reminds "those who came out with this irresponsible idea," that Kaliningrad Oblast was, is and will be an integral component part of the Russian Federation, and its belonging to Russia is enshrined by acts of international law in perpetuity.

"It should be clear that the Russian side will never discuss with anyone in this context the 'future' of Kaliningrad Oblast or its status. Any infringement of Russia's sovereignty will meet with the most resolute rebuff," the Foreign Ministry statement stresses.

"The resolution repeats the well-worn demand for the 'demilitarization' of Kaliningrad Oblast." In the opinion of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry "it is time to realize that this is a frivolous formulation of the question. The strength of the Russian forces is determined by Russia's defense requirements and international obligations. We are not breaking these obligations. Moreover, a gradual reduction in the group of forces in the oblast is taking place. But that is our internal issue, which we decide, taking into account the development of the situation in the region in Europe as a whole, and not the policy of neighboring states."

The call, contained in the resolution for an international "round-table" conference on questions of the demilitarization and further development of Kaliningrad Oblast is considered by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry to be of an obviously provocative nature and aimed at complicating the Baltic countries' relations with Russia.

"The Baltic parliamentarians' anti-Russian syndrome is also manifested in the fact that they propose restoring the previous names of localities in Kaliningrad Oblast. The absurdity of this proposal is evident.

"In this case," the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry asks, "why not start with the restoration of all the German and Russian appellations in the Baltic countries—Memel, Wilno, Kovno, Revel, Dvinsk, Libava, Yuryev and so on?"

In the opinion of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, "the resolution of the Baltic Assembly is a graphic example of irresponsible intrigue, of a desire to attract the attention of the world public to oneself at any price, so as to compensate for what they see as a certain deficit of attention to them since the completion of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries."

"One would like to hope," the Foreign Ministry statement says, "that such an approach will not meet with the support of serious politicians either in the Baltic countries themselves or in the world."

Kozyrev, Mitterrand Meet, Discuss 'New Europe'

LD1511233794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2240 GMT 15 Nov 94

[by ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nikita Yermakov, Mikhail Kalmykov and Andrey Shtorkh]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Paris, 16 Nov—"President Yeltsin asked me, during my converation with Francois Mitterrand—who is a very experienced politician and who in recent decades has played an important role in establishing France as a major European and world power, in deepening bilateral relations between Russia and France, and in shaping the contemporary architecture of Europe - to concentrate on major themes of the future of Europe. And my conversation with the French president proved to be on that basis. The president was in good form and this was a lengthy dialogue which was very rich in content." Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev gave this opinion of his meeting with F. Mitterrand on Tuesday evening in response to a request from the ITAR-TASS correspondents. Andrey Kozyrev is on an official visit to France.

The chief thing is that Mitterrand spoke clearly, citing historical examples, about the impermissibility of creating—because of a lack of circumspection or for some other reasons—any feeling that Russia is isolated, a feeling that it is moving away from Europe, the Russian minister continued, replying to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondent. The key task here, he pointed out, is to find a way to build Europe with Russian participation. The historic alliance between France and Russia, the present partnerhip between our countries, looks like one of the central supports for the construction of a new Europe, A. Kozyrev stressed.

"Very soon, at the CSCE summit in Budapest, a question of what path Europe should take is going to be decided. Either there will be further splits, hasty expansion of NATO, unjustified delays in accepting Russia into the Council of Europe, or we should take another path and build a single democratic Europe," Kozyrev said. "During our meeting with Mitterrand the prevailing view was the same that is also shared by President Yeltsin—what we need is a new, fresh approach. So far no one has come forward with a ready scheme, but the idea itself is getting through."

Kozyrev recalled that organizations like NATO and CSCE have emerged during the 'cold war' and one should not seek solutions within their frameworks—which are becoming increasingly tight in the 1990's—but try to find radical new answers to the situation that has developed in the post-confrontational period. "This will open additional opportunities for our work in Europe and serve to strengthen our strategic interaction with the key European partners—France, Britain, and Germany. This will not be a partnership against the United States, it will be a partnership with them, but one in which Europe has its own voice and in which Moscow's voice within the European chorus is also heard loudly enough."

Replying to a question from the ITAR-TASS correspondents about Russia's attitudes to the various "geometric schemes" for organizing cooperation in Europe, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that "the main thing is to prevent any configurations which might arise—whether they be old organizations or some new models—from causing a split in the continent."

"Everything is possible: In the future NATO may undergo some kind of evolution and Russia, too, may at some stage become a member of NATO," A. Kozyrev continued. "We do not rule anything out. But the question is—what aim is being pursued. And if this aim is to create a united Europe in which various regional geometric associations may coexist, there are no problems on our part. For example, we have the CIS, and the Visegrad Group operates in east Europe. These are useful organizations and they do not draw lines of division but, on the contrary, draw the positions of the states of Europe closer together."

Discuss European Policy

LD1611093494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0824 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov, Mikhail Kalmykov and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris November 16 TASS—"President Yeltsin has asked me to focus on major problems of Europe's future during talks with Francois Mitterand who in recent decades had played a considerable role in turning France into major European and world power, in deepening bilateral Russo-French relations and creating Europe's modern architecture," said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "Our dialogue with the French president on this basis has worked out well. The president was in an excellent condition and the dialogue was positive and rich in context," said Kozyrev on Tuesday [15 November]." Kozyrev is currently in France on an official visit.

Mitterand spoke about the inadmissibility of creating, either because of indiscretion or for some other reason, of an illusion of Russia's isolation or an illusion that Russia is moving away from Europe, the Russian minister said. In this connection, the key task is to find a way of constructing Europe with Russia's participation. The historical alliance between Russia and France, the present partnership between our countries seem to be one of central pillars on which the construction of new Europe relies, Kozyrev said.

At the next summit meeting at the CSCE level in Budapest, a problem of Europe's further development will be discussed: Whether it will move in the direction of more splits, rash expansion of the NATO bloc and unjustified delay of Russia's admission into the Council of Europe, or whether the development will continue along the way of the construction of single democratic Europe, Kozyrev said. During the meeting with Mitterand an idea prevailed, which is shared by Russian President Boris Yeltsin as well, that a new fresh innovator approach is needed. So far, no one has suggested a

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ready formula, but the idea itself is paving its way increasingly fast, Kozyrev said.

He reminded of the fact that such organisations as NATO or CSCE appeared in the years of the Cold War and expressed the idea that it is not necessary to look for solutions in their framework which became too small in the 1990s, but rather give a practically new response to the situation which developed in the post- confrontational period.

"This will offer new opportunities for activities in the European direction and will strengthen our strategic contacts with key European partners - France, England, Germany. This will not be partnership against the United States, but partnership with the U.S., but in such a way that Europe's voice be independent and that Moscow's voice in the European choir be loud enough, Kozyrev said.

Asked by ITAR-TASS about Russia's attitude to various geometrical schemes of organizational contact in Europe, Kozyrev said that the most important thing is to prevent any newly emerging configurations from splitting the continent. For example, we have the CIS, and in the eastern Europe the "Vysegrad Group" exists. These are useful organisations and they do not create separation lines, but on the contrary, bring the positions of European states closer together.

France Calls For Russia's Admission to Council of Europe

LD1611151394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1448 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov, Mikhail Kalmykov, and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris November 16 TASS—Head of the French National Assembly Philippe Seguin called for the soonest possible admission of Russia to the Council of Europe (CE).

Speaking at a meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev who is in France on an official visit on Wednesday, Seguin said that partnership with Russia should become a key element of France's foreign policy.

Seguin and Kozyrev discussed Russian-French relations in the context of the future of the European continent and European security. The talks revealed the coincidence of approaches towards European construction and Russia's role in this process. The sides stressed that Russia is an integral part of Europe and it should not be isolated from the rest of the continent.

Seguin said that Europe has been "irresponsible" for too long. The challenge facing European countries, including Russia and France, is to make it "responsible" now. He pointed out that this goal cannot be achieved without Russia. In particular, he said that Europe should play a role in settling regional conflicts, including in Bosnia, and Russia's role in the contact group has been most valuable, he said.

Kozyrev informed Seguin about the rights of ethnic minorities in Russia and ethnic Russians in other ex-soviet republics and confirmed that this problem remains in the centre of attention of the Russian leadership.

The two politicians also discussed Seguin's upcoming visit to Russia. Kozyrev believes that the visit will help promote better understanding between the two countries.

Reaching considerable progress in relations with Russia is one of the priorities of European construction, Seguin told ITAR-TASS. Neither Russia, nor Europe can afford to miss the historic opportunities that have opened up after the end of the cold war.

Kozyrev, UNESCO Director General Discuss Cooperation

LD1611094094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Nikita Yermakova, Mikhail Kalmykov, and Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris November 16 TASS—A wide range of problems linked with cooperation between the Russian Federation and the UNESCO was discussed here on Tuesday [15 November] evening by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor.

The sides noted that both Russia and the UNESCO were interested in the further promotion of interaction in the field of culture, education, science, and communication.

Kozyrev highly assessed the work of the UNESCO, which is now living through a period of adaptation to post-confrontational realities. He assured Mayor that Russia would go on rendering it all-round assistance.

"Cooperation between Russia and the UNESCO was elevated to a new stage in the past few years," Kozyrev noted, replying to the questions of journalists. "I have handed over to the UNESCO director-general six concrete memorandums, summing up the results of our interaction in several major joint projects in the field of science and culture, including the placing of several Russian monuments of architecture, spiritual life, history, and the arts under UNESCO patronage," the minister said. "The granting of the status of world legacies to such Russian historical monuments as the Kremlin, the Solovetsky monastery, and several others should not be merely a formal act. It should pave the way to the revival of material and spiritual values. This is very important. Therefore, our cooperation with the UNESCO serves to promote mutual enrichment."

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"The purpose of our organisation is to consolidate democracy and to increase the influence of the new culture, the culture of peace. And Russia is rendering us substantial support in this effort," Mayor stressed. "This is particularly important at a time when the world is living through an important transitional period of universal development: from the domination of strength—to the strength of reason." He said he admired Russian culture, was well aware of its deep roots, its talents and creative potentialities.

In recognition of Russia's large contribution to the UNESCO efforts, Mayor presented to the Russian minister a 1994 UNESCO medal, devoted to Mahatma Gandhi, mastermind of the nonviolence concept.

The Russian foreign minister thanked Mayor for the medicines, purchased by UNESCO officials for children-victims of the Chernobyl disaster. Kozyrev assured Mayor that he would personally oversee their delivery to the addressees.

'European Tendency' in Foreign Policy Should End

LD1511161894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Panov believes that Russia needs to get rid of the "European tendency" in the Russian foreign policy.

On Tuesday [15 November] at the session of the Foreign Policy Council in Moscow, Panov said that the Asian tendency is one of the most important ones. "However, the creation of a bilateral or multilateral union with the countries of the Asian and Pacific Region is out of the question," he said.

Panov said that the step may cause the creation of counter-unions and bring about caution towards Russia's policies.

He said that Russia is not associated any longer with the threat in the region. "Moreover, many countries of the Asian and Pacific region favor Russia's presence in the region. This also refers to the military presence, which, believe Asian and Pacific countries, is needed to preserve the balance of power and prevent attempts on the part of anyone to claim a special role in the region," he said.

However, believes Panov, given the importance of the military factor he will not determine the importance of any state in the region.

The diplomat said that to ensure Russia's worthy participation in the regional economic structures is of primary importance.

Problems on Relations With Ukraine Aired in Duma

LD1511225094 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Nov 94

[Report from State Duma by correspondent Ye. Pogorelova—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] As chairman of the State Duma Committee for CIS Affairs and Links with Compatriots, Konstantin Zatulin today conducted parliamentary hearings on matters of Russo-Ukrainian relations.

[Pogorelova] Russo-Ukraine relations cannot be described as easy. This simple truth was voiced at today's parliamentary hearings. The chairman of the Committee for CIS Affairs reminded Russian deputies, representatives of Ukraine, and the Crimean parliament that Ukraine has run up a debt of 7 trillion rubles with Russia. The Russian delegation had not even been invited to the recent meeting of the Big Seven in Canada on the question of allocating economic assistance to Ukraine. Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Krylov said that considerable effort had to be made to get Russia invited, even though Ukraine's debt to Russia is the most impressive at $640 million, that is to say double the investments by west European countries and Canada. According to information from the Foreign Ministry, fresh credits from the West will be used to pay for Turkmen gas.

It is not clear what accounts for this extreme pliancy toward independent Ukraine. However, the painstakingly declared independence of Ukraine in practice, especially in economic terms, has been strongly exaggerated: 40 percent of foreign manpower in Russia consists of Ukrainian citizens. But indulgences at state level are continuing: Ukraine has been granted a deferment of payments until 1 February, probably not the last one.

Deputy Minister Upbeat on Relations

LD1511205594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After election of Leonid Kuchma as Ukrainian president, the dialog between the Russian and Ukrainian Foreign Ministries has noticeably intensified, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov told parliamentary hearings on relations with Ukraine in Moscow Tuesday [15 November].

Krylov pointed out that relations with Ukraine were one of the Russian Foreign Ministry's priorities. He was optimistic about the fact that a basic document - bilateral outline treaty - had almost been prepared for consideration by the country's leadership. According to unconfirmed information, the head of the Ukrainian delegation to the talks on the outline political treaty, Deputy Prime Minister Yevgeniy Marchuk, will arrive in Moscow within the next days to meet the Russian delegation headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets.

Ukrainian deputy Yuriy Boldyrev addressed the hearings with a speech. He said that many Ukrainian deputies believed that efforts to establish a truly friendly relationship between the two fraternal peoples were to be continued. In addition, he expressed his purely personal,

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as he put it, opinion that "the talks on dividing up the Black Sea Fleet should not be sped up" as it may "soon turn out that there is no need to divide anything." He hypothesized that Kuchma's successor in three years, "and maybe earlier" will pursue a policy whereby the Slavic people will undoubtedly unite in a federative or confederative state.

Moscow Favors 'Safe Zone' Observance in Bosnia

LD1511204394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The official spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, Grigoriy Karasin, described the UN Security Council statement on the situation in Bosnia passed last Sunday as an "important, though delayed reaction to the escalation of hostilities in Bosnia."

Karasin said all sides involved in the conflict "should clearly realize" that the UN Security Council "was sending them a bold warning on the need to refrain from staking on force."

At a briefing in Moscow Tuesday, Karasin recalled the fact that "shortly after the Bosnian government troops' offensive from Bihac, which triggered off the last outbreak of hostilities, the Russian side warned of the danger of such developments."

Karasin also hoped that the UN Security Council will soon coordinate its resolution on strict observing of the 'safe zone' regime in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"A relevant Russian draft intended to objectively and consistently bring to life the UN Security Council concept of 'safe zones' will soon be submitted to the Council for consideration," he added.

Kyrlov: Peacekeepers Lives Will Not Be Endangered

LD1511185394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1809 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow will not expose the lives of Russian peacekeepers in Bosnia to danger, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Krylov told Interfax.

He emphasized that the U.S. had not abandoned the embargo on arms supply to Bosnian Moslems. Krylov explained that the U.S. had only said it would pull out two its warships in the Adriatic Sea that had been involved in the West European Union's operation. The Americans were doing sort of more than their fair share and so there is no infringement on the embargo, he said.

In Krylov's words, the U.S. decision to stop exchange of intelligence data on violations of the embargo was not itself a violation, either. He admitted, however, that the U.S. line was inconsistent with what the contacts group and the countries working for a settlement in Bosnia wanted.

In Krylov's words, the U.S. action had resulted in polarization in the contact group and between European countries which are displeased with what the Administration is doing and call for coordinated actions.

He expressed the hope that the meeting between Foreign Ministers Andrey Kozyrev, Alain Juppe and Douglas Hurd of Russia, France and Britain would result in coordinating the positions of the countries which had sent peacekeeping units to the Bosnian war zone.

"What is important is that this meeting will be held the day after the meeting of the contact group on settlement in the former Yugoslavia who must advise the ministers and suggest ideas to them," Krylov said.

He believed that West European Union's warships could close the gap which had resulted from the pull out of two U.S. navy ships. Krylov said that the coast line to supervise was not too long. True, the more ships the better, he said, but even when the Americans did take part in this operations, weapons reached Bosnia through various other channels.

U.S. Move on Bosnia Prompts Duma's 'Sharp Response'

MM1511172494 Moscow NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Aleksey Bausin: "Main World Event: Bill Clinton Nonetheless Decides To Go Solo in Bosnian Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The White House's decision to unilaterally lift the 31-month embargo on arms shipments to the Bosnian government forces has elicited an abruptly negative response from both Washington's closest allies and the Russian State Duma. (The Russian Foreign Ministry was nonetheless more restrained in its assessments.) "This step prompts concern since there is a mandatory UN Security Council resolution and coordinated NATO policy in existence," British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said. Britain and France, whose troops form the bulk of the UN peacekeeping contingent in Bosnia, previously hinted that in the event of the embargo's being lifted and, as a result, the war's escalating they will withdraw their soldiers from the conflict zone. For the time being Washington will continue observing the embargo on heavy arms shipments to the Bosnian Muslims; however, U.S. Navy ships will not stop transports carrying weapons for Bosnia and Croatia to the Adriatic.

Washington's latest "move," which is directly linked to the Democrats' defeat in the Congressional midterm

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elections, elicited a sharp response from the Russian State Duma, which adopted virtually unanimously a resolution sharply condemning the White House decision. Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs, even said that "we too have arms, don't we? And there are ways of delivering them." Vladimir Lukin also hypothesized that Clinton's latest steps are no more than a reaction to the activeness manifested by Russian diplomacy in the Iraqi area.

The U.S. lifting of the embargo would hardly have any immediate military effect. However, Washington's decision causes concern because it jeopardizes the unified position on the Bosnian conflict that has been achieved with difficulty within the framework of both the United Nations and NATO and the International Contact Group. And if the White House has decided to go solo in Bosnian affairs under pressure of domestic political circumstances, there is still a big question mark over whether the rest of the international "orchestra" will play the melody line in harmony with Clinton the sax player. [passage omitted]

Further on U.S. Bosnia Embargo Move

MM1511164294 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Vadim Markushin: "NATO Fails Balkans Test"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The international community's reaction to Washington's decision to withdraw from the process of monitoring observance of the embargo on arms supplies to the Muslim government of Bosnia remains the topic of the day for the majority of the media. For all the diversity of opinion on the subject, the predominant view of such a provocative step by the Clinton administration is clearly negative, especially in the camp of the United States' closest NATO allies.

The "enforced" nature of this step by the White House, due to the U.S. Senate's decision back in the summer not to provide any more funds for patrols in the Adriatic, and also due to the wave of criticism in the country of the pro-Muslim slant, enables Clinton to obtain only purely symbolic signs of "understanding" in some European capitals. What is basically adverse opinion as far as Washington is concerned boils down to the point that its behavior places the West in an awkward situation as far as the future coordination of its efforts in the Balkans is concerned.

Judging from the reaction in London and Paris, the United States' leading allies, despite some confusion of late, displayed a pretty definite inclination toward reorientating defense organizational development in the direction of its "Europeanization." Noting this change in the current mood of the European NATO countries, the British paper THE GUARDIAN, for example, writes that their differences with the Americans over Bosnia "threaten NATO unity and could give a further fillip to plans to create a single European defense system."

The same suggestions were made by other media on the day the Western European Union session, at which this obviously could be a central issue, opened in the Netherlands.

There is also talk in Germany of the danger of the United States' leading role in NATO being undermined. It is linked here with the anti-American "front of NATO partners" that is taking shape, indeed with the overt "support of Moscow." Despite the tendency of the press to lay it on thick in such situations, there is no doubt that the Balkan crisis is a difficult test for NATO.

As for the "support of Moscow," the truth here is that it is rigorously observing sanctions on supplies of weapons to armed formations in the former Yugoslavia. "No tank, missile or other item of weaponry, either combat-ready or in the form of scrap, has gone from Russian military arsenals to Serb formations." This was stated by Major General Vladimir Kosarev, chief of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information snd Press Directorate, in response to a piece in DER SPIEGEL claiming that the Serb Army was receiving modern armaments from Russia despite the UN embargo.

Deputy Minister on Lifting Iraq's UN Sanctions

LD1511185494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Unfortunately, introduction of international sanctions is an easier job than lifting them," Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Krylov told Interfax Tuesday when he commented on the UN Security Council's decision to leave the sanctions against Iraq in place.

He said that Belgrade had done much to meet the requirements so as to enable the UN to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, there is no sign of lifting them. The lifting of sanctions against South Africa took years, even though they did not work, he recalled.

Krylov said that the reason was the slow pace of the UN machinery and a lack of clear cut criteria for automatic lifting of the sanctions. He explained that a new discussion, reports and decision were needed to have sanctions lifted.

Krylov also believed that the United States might feel jealous over the Russian successes in Iraq.

He added that, like in numerous other cases, the personality of the head of state makes an impact on the UN decision. In the case of Iraq the personality of its President Saddam Husayn is viewed in negative light by numerous countries, he said. He emphasized that in spite of this Russia would press for less stringent sanctions against Iraq.

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The UN Security Council must react to the official recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty and borders by Iraq "adequately," the Russian Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing in Moscow today.

He said that otherwise the entire logic of the post-crisis settlement would be lost.

Karasin said that the tactics "all or nothing" which some Western countries were likely to carry out guided by their own interior political reasons threatened to bring the settlement to a deadlock once again.

Karasin said that in the UN Security Council Russia firmly intended to pursue a policy in favor of adopting a resolution with an adequate political assessment of the decision of Iraq to recognize the borders and sovereignty of Kuwait. He said Russia wanted the UN Security Council to agree to begin the test monitoring of the military programs of Baghdad.

Karasin said that if Baghdad passed the test continuing to cooperate with the UN special commission the issue of lifting the embargo on Iraqi export, specially oil export, would be raised under paragraph 22 of resolution 687.

The sooner Iraq fulfills its obligations on disarmament the sooner the UN Security Council could change its position, Karasin said.

Karasin Calls For Adequate UNSC Reaction to Iraq

LD1511180794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1637 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The UN Security Council must react to the official recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty and borders by Iraq "adequately," the Russian Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing in Moscow today.

He said that otherwise the entire logic of the post-crisis settlement would be lost.

Karasin said that the tactics of "all or nothing" which some Western countries were likely to carry out, guided by their own interior political motivations, threatened to bring the settlement to a deadlock once again.

Karasin said that in the UN Security Council, Russia firmly intends to pursue a policy aimed at adopting a resolution with an adequate political assessment of the Iraqi decision to recognize the borders and sovereignty of Kuwait. He said Russia wanted the UN Security Council to agree to begin a trial period for monitoring the Baghdad's military programs.

Karasin said that if Baghdad passed the test, continuing to cooperate with the UN Special Commission, the issue of lifting the embargo on exports from Iraq, especially oil exports, would be raised under Paragraph 22 of resolution 687.

'Experts' Warn of 'Threat' From China

AU1511212694 Paris AFP in English 2058 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Nov 15 (AFP)—The balance of forces in Asia may be turning in China's favour in a way that could pose a direct threat to Russia, a round table of Russian foreign policy experts was told here Tuesday.

Yevgeny Bazhanov, head of the Institute of Contemporary Problems in the Russian Foreign Ministry, told a gathering of around 100 Foreign Ministry specialists that the future of the Far East region of Russia "depends on our relations with China."

These relations "are fundamental because of the immense frontier between our two countries and because of the huge Chinese population," he said.

Russia is "very worried about the settlement of Chinese people in the (Russian) Far East, given that several territories that are currently Russian have belonged in the past to the Chinese empire," Bazhanov said.

"The supply of weapons (to Beijing) is advantageous for us, but we must take into account that China is currently seeking to strengthen its military potential," he warned. "We may be witnessing a transformation of the balance of forces in Asia in China's favour, which would then threaten us directly."

Another expert warned that Russia must refrain from the "reckless" sale of weapons to China in case it became a serious threat.

"China may adopt a nationalist attitude, and then become a serious threat to Russia," said Georgi Arbatov, director of the US- Canada Institute in the Russian Academy of Sciences and an influential figure during the Soviet era.

Arbatov warned the gathering against "the reckless sale of Russian arms to China, even though it is a very profitable market."

Russia has considerably boosted its arms sales to China in recent years, regarding the weapons sector as one of the most profitable in trade between the two countries.

Arbatov warned that much of the weaponry that Russia had deployed in its Asian territories "causes concern among neighbouring states."

Sixty-five divisions out of a total of 82 are stationed in Asian Russia, he said.

Moscow Concerned Over U.S-Pyongyang Nuclear Agreement

LD1511174094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1615 GMT 15 Nov 94

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Valeriy Sevryukov and Vladimir Suprun]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 15 Nov—The nuclear agreements between the United States and North Korea "have prompted a number of questions" from the viewpoint Russia's interests. This statement was made at today's briefing by Grigoriy Karasin, the head of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Above all, he explained, this concerns the intentions of the United States and South Korea, following the accords between Washington and Pyongyang, to supply light water reactors to North Korea. That is happening when Moscow, the diplomat said, has suspended her bilateral agreement with the DPRK on helping that country to build a nuclear power station, using light water reactors as a foundation. As a result, G. Karasin believes, the key principle of monitoring nuclear exports is being broken, that is, the principle that the exporters must not use "nonproliferation" principles with the aim of obtaining commercial gains.

In addition, Russia is also concerned about the fact that U.S.-North Korean agreements are opening up an opportunity for North Korea to put off observing the pledges assumed by Pyongyang for a long period.

Offical on Agreement Concerns

LD1511204494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The US-North Korean agreement on nuclear issues is "not so simple" from the point of view of Russian interests, the Russian Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Grigoriy Karasin told a briefing in Moscow today.

He said Moscow had suspended the bilateral agreement with North Korea for the construction of a light-water reactor nuclear power station with Russian assistance. The US and South Korea are now to deliver light-water nuclear reactors to Pyongyang. Karasin said that as a result a key-principle fixed in all agreements on control over nuclear export could be violated. He made it clear that he meant exporters' commitment not to use "nonproliferation" materials for commercial purposes.

Karasin said that up to the present moment this principle had been respected by all nuclear exporters.

Polish Official on Warsaw Railway 'Incident'

LD1511220394 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Polish Interior Ministry, headed by Interior MInister Andrzej Milczanowski, arrived in Moscow this evening. The visit is taking place within the framework of the accord between the heads of governments of the two countries and is connected with the incident on 23 October at the Warsaw railway station.

[Correspondent R. Babayan] Upon his arrival at Sheremetyevo-II airport Andrzej Milczanowski gave an interview to "Vesti" in which he stated that the aim of his visit to Russia is to brief his Russian colleagues on all the circumstances of the incident at the Warsaw railway station.

We intend to come to an agreement on close cooperation between the Polish and Russian Interior Ministries which will make it possible to reliably protect Russian citizens in my country and Polish nationals in the Russian Federation, the minister stated.

However, replying to a question as to whether he regards the incident as a misunderstanding, Andrzej Milczanowski said:

[Begin Milczanowski recording, in Polish fading to Russian translation] I think that the Polish side did not manifest willfulness in this case. There have been some impediments on the part of the Polish police. [end recording]

[Babayan] The minister said that in Moscow he will meet with Viktor Yerin to whom he will make available all reliable information about what has happened. My country is interested in removing the tension which has arisen and will do everything possible to this end, Milczanowski stated.

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Political Issues

Foreign Ministry Reaffirms Status of Kalingrad

LD1511214494 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Foreign Minstry has described the Baltic Assembly's resolution on the demilitarization of Kaliningrad Region and its future development as blatant interference in Russia's internal affairs. The Foreign Ministry statement released on Tuesday [15 November] evening stresses that Kaliningrad region was, is and will be a component part of the Russian Federation. And for this reason, Russia has no intention of discussing the future of this territory or its status with anyone.

Draft Law on Government Sent to State Duma

LD1611104494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0735 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Nov (ITARTASS)—Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has sent a draft of the Federal Constitutional law, "On the Government of the Russian Federation," to the State Duma for examination. The law has been prepared in accordance with Article 114 of the Russian Constitution. ITAR-TASS was informed of this by the Russian presidential press service.

Yavlinskiy Criticizes Yeltsin, Urges Early Elections

MK1511135094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Vadim Tyagniryadno under the "Opinion" rubric: "Grigoriy Yavlinskiy Thinks it is Time To Replace Boris Yeltsin. 'Yabloko' Faction Leader No Longer Trusts President's Reformist Ability"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, who visited St. Petersburg 12 November to cheer up his allies in elections for the local city assembly, said that he is going to insist that the next presidential elections be called as early as 1995. The leader of the State Duma's "Yabloko" faction is definitely disenchanted with Mr. Yeltsin's ability to carry on reform. "Yeltsin's current position is very reminiscent of Gorbachev's in 1991. The evolution of events during the past month has shown that it is time to raise the question that the president's reformist potential has been exhausted," Mr. Yavlinskiy stated. In his view, there have been more and more failures in Boris Yeltsin's policy.

Such failures included, among other things, the collapse of the ruble, the murder of journalists, violation of the Constitution, and a lack of crucial moves to reform the economy and to create democratic institutions. In Mr. Yavlinskiy's view, the president should also be held responsible for what the government has been blamed for, because economic policy is being devised primarily in presidential structures. Another argument cited by the "Yabloko" leader was the rising dissatisfaction of the population and the strengthening of the left-wing forces. "Next year we will still have a chance of a democratically minded person's winning the presidency. In 1996, if the current economic trends remain, there will be no such chances. Then one of those rally speakers will come to power," he stated.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy said that the "Yabloko" faction has formulated the need to call early elections next year and is now drawing up a corresponding proposal to be presented to Federal Assembly deputies. Evidently, the authors of this decision will find it difficult to have the elections brought forward, particularly given their stated intention to adhere to all constitutional procedures. Conceding the difficulties inherent in the uphill struggle facing him, the bloc leader is not losing his optimism and thinks that it can be done.

Commenting on the recent government reshuffles, Mr. Yavlinskiy said he does not see any sense in them. In his judgment, the cadre castling, which falls short of changing the direction of reform or formulating a government program, is nothing but an attempt to let off steam from all new members of Premier Chernomyrdin's team. Only the new economy minister earned praise from Mr. Yavlinskiy, who called him "one of the most prominent economists." The other changes in the government, in his view, smack of an "oblast party committee" approach. Given the current situation in the government, it would be wrong to appoint persons virtually unknown in politics to key government posts, such as Mr. Bolshakov, former director of "Vysokoskorostnyye Magistrali" ["High-Speed Railways"], who was appointed deputy prime minister.

Recent Reshuffles Seen Costing Yeltsin Dearly

MK1511120094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by chief editor Vitaliy Tretyakov: "The Problem of Dead Issues Kicking Back. Why Yeltsin Composed Such a Government"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Given all of its unconvincing nature and lack of prospects, the Russian leadership's internal policy of the recent period has had at least one strong component—the West's well-intentioned and guarded but firm support.

This is apparently coming to an end. The permission for Mr. Zhirinovskiy to visit the United Stated signifies an unequivocal readiness of American politicians and political scientists to have hands-on experience with the Russian alternative. The Democrats' election defeat in the same United States will inevitably make Clinton toughen his line on Russia generally and the current policy of the Kremlin in particular. We can already see this much. Having swiftly solved its two formidable problems—unification of the country and the withdrawal of the former Soviet troops from the territory of the former GDR (and also from virtually all the states

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falling into the sphere of German interests)—Germany, the most reliable ally of the USSR and Russia in the West in recent times, will inevitably stop, to put it mildly, helping Russia to solve its problems in the absence of an equal exchange in this sphere. Finally, informed and authoritative specialists claim that the question of NATO membership for the former USSR satellites that are not Russia's allies today has been practically solved. Thus Moscow will indeed get the special status it seeks in the "Partnership for Peace" because all the other participants in this program will soon simply become members of the North Atlantic Alliance. International affairs specialists may easily continue this list, but the general tendency is that Russia is increasingly being sucked into the vortex of a new international isolation (not absolute isolation, of course, because nothing can be absolute at the end of the 20th century). [passage omitted]

According to the hypothesis of a Moscow political group, the main motive for the outwardly chaotic shake-ups was Boris Yeltsin's desire to topple the present Chernomyrdin government, using the State Duma as a tool. In this event he would have the finest chance to painlessly rid himself of figures who are getting in his way in the government, and, most importantly, of the prime minister himself. But the Duma did not give Boris Yeltsin such a gift. So political repressions descended on those who had failed to see what the president wanted but who, as the president thought, should have seen it—the Party of Russian Unity and Accord leaders Shokhin, Shakhray, and Kalmykov.

Be that as it may, the upshot is clear: the political match in Moscow is moving into its final round with time running out (especially for the Duma, whose period of no-conflict-with-the- president is known to be ending 13 December). But one of the players—the president—does not know what to do. For which reason he decided to take a chance: having elevated Chubays to the level of first deputy head of government—and having removed Shokhin, who has achieved harmony in work with Chernomyrdin; and Kvasov, the prime minister's chief of staff—Yeltsin is going to act according to the tested Chinese recipe: to sit on the hill and watch two tigers, Chubays and Soskovets (or less importantly: Chubays and Chernomyrdin), fighting it out in the valley.

The president does not much care if it comes up heads or tails. He gambles on the winner to emerge as a winner himself. Yeltsin cannot make his own economic choice, not because he is no economics expert, but because he cannot solve the purely political problem: who should he sacrifice—Grachev or Yerin—and can he avoid this sacrifice at all? It would be better for the president to sacrifice neither, but signs are he will have to sacrifice someone. This would clearly weaken the only remaining stronghold—control over the power structures.

In a word, the president once again is solving the problem of personal power rather than the country's problems. But, to go back to where I began, only now shedding all support from the West. The most disgusting part of it is that Yeltsin has used up all the stock of concessions to the West, hence he will have to be aggressive not only inside the country but also on the international scene—even if only verbally. But there he will no longer sit on the hill and watch. There he is only one of the tigers fighting it out in the valley. And he will have to fight in earnest. This can be seen in the latest hysterics of Mrs. Novodvorskaya, commissar of neo-Bolshevik radical democrats, who for the first time ever stated in the previous NOVYY VZGLYAD that the people she lists as reformers are linked with each other by the 4 October 1993 blood. "Iron Valeriya's" hysterics are worth a lot—for a whole year she harbored this "great secret" and it is only now that her lips opened wide....

'Job Abroad' To Be Found for Kostikov

MM1511195594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Nov 94 p 2

[Commentary by Vasiliy Kononenko: "Press Secretary Leaving President on Good Terms; Reshuffles at Top Not Yet Over"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been learned from well-informed sources in the Kremlin that the resignation of V. Kostikov, the Russian Federation president's press secretary, will most likely be announced this week. The relevant edict has already been prepared. It could emerge from the office at any minute, because both B. Yeltsin and Kostikov made a decision in principle about this at a meeting between them. By all accounts they reached a mutual understanding that the press secretary's resignation should not become grounds for political conjecture and speculation.

In a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Kostikov announced his departure evasively but fairly transparently. According to him he is grateful to fate and the president for having had the opportunity to work in this senior post, which has given him much in the way of political experience. He continues to retain good feelings toward Yeltsin as a man and as president. As regards his future work, this completely depends on the president. "He is not rushing me," Kostikov said.

Meanwhile, sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry claim that Kostikov has had a meeting with A. Kozyrev with a more than obvious purpose—he is being found a job abroad.

There are undoubtedly substantial reasons for removing from the president's team a man who only very recently was greatly trusted by Yeltsin (you will recall his role in the period of confrontation with the former Supreme Soviet). Kostikov arrived in the Kremlin in 1992, largely thanks to the insistence of M. Poltoranin, who at that time was in favor with the president and had a complete monopoly on the entire information sphere under the

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authorities' control. But in time, when the press secretary had gained experience and skills in working at the top echelon of power, he stopped paying attention to Poltoranin's "advice," and this later led to a clear cooling in their relations.

Kostikov rapidly became a notable figure in big-time politics and became involved in that kind of politics not always on the president's direct instructions, but also on the basis of his own views. In the corridors of power such individuals quickly burn themselves out for well-known reasons: envy and fears of a redistribution of roles or a change in the vectors of influence on the president, etc. Right now the following comments are different explanations of why the press secretary's star has waned: Kostikov failed to cope with the task of organizing a professional press service; Kostikov became fed up; in the changed conditions a more energetic person who would be in the president's shadow was needed to replace the press secretary.

It is possible to argue about the specifics of these conclusions but not about the main conclusion—the working conditions in the top echelon of power really have changed. All well-informed Kremlin apparatchiks are convinced that the top-level cadre reshuffles were prompted by the new demands of the moment. First, the insipid economic policy that has continued all this year is not the best background for the president to participate in the preelection marathon. "Black" Tuesday merely speeded up implementation of the president's plans to renew his team and the government's composition. True, at the time they were being considered there was no clarity in the concept behind these changes. For this reason the possibility of strengthening the coalition cabinet of ministers was considered as an option.

The process of cadre reshuffles is not yet over. According to some reports they will also affect the social bloc [sotsialnyy blok] in the cabinet of ministers. And competent sources do not rule out the possibility that P. Grachev will soon be replaced in the post of defense minister by Border Troops Commander A. Nikolayev.

Finally, the president's directive on the reorganization of his administration will come out in roughly one to two weeks. S. Filatov told IZVESTIYA's correspondent that this reorganization will mean the strengthening of functional components (analysis centers, information and legal services) so as to preclude parallelism in their work and the duplication of similar structures in the government. The merger will take place not mechanically but with a substantial reduction of establishments. Some sections will disappear altogether.

The intentions of the head of the administration can be believed if only because the activity of major analysis centers—for example, of those for general policy, socioeconomic policy, and special presidential programs—is not distinguished by effectiveness and has more than once failed to lead to the adoption of cardinal decisions in the social sphere. In short, the government badly needs professionals.

Yegorov Replaces Shakhray in Chechen Talks

LD1511141094 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray has been released by Boris Yeltsin from dealing with Russian-Chechen relations, INTERFAX has learned from informed sources in Moscow. Nationalities Minister Nikolay Yegorov will replace Shakhray in handling Chechnya matters.

Shakhray's Demotion Seen Masterminded by Chechen Opposition

MK1511134794 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Sergey Parkhomenko under the "Nuances" rubric: "Sergey Shakhray Relieved From Work on 'Southern Axis.' Informal Powers Being Turned Over Informally"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Competent sources at the White House have confirmed information first reported last week that the coordination of the federal administration's policies on the "southern axis" was removed from Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray's jurisdiction and handed over to Nikolay Yegorov, minister for the affairs of nationalities and regional policy. The "southern axis" has lately been understood as a set of problems relating to a settlement in the Chechen Republic and the working out of a system of relations between Moscow and Groznyy acceptable for the central authorities.

It should be noted that the functions of coordinating Russian policy in Chechnya have never been officially entrusted to Mr. Shakhray. Accordingly, these problems were taken away from his charge in an absolutely informal manner: No official decision was made on the matter. Moreover, according to reports received by SEGODNYA, the deputy prime minister learned about the transfer of powers directly from representatives of the anti-Dudayev opposition, not his cabinet chiefs. [passage omitted]

One gets the impression that Moscow's approach no longer satisfied leaders of the "joint Chechen opposition" themselves, because Moscow displayed equal willingness to have contacts both with them and representatives of the Dudayev regime. One confirmation of this trend was, for instance, Sergey Shakhray's meeting the other day with Guseyn Ferzauli, deputy prime minister of the Chechen Government. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that it is precisely the Chechen opposition that chose to change its main counterpart in talks with the federal administration.

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Panfilova Quits Russia's Choice Deputy Faction

LD1511222294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1546 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] State Duma Deputy Ella Panfilova, chairperson of the presidential Social Policy Council, has quit the "Russia's Choice" deputy faction. According to INTERFAX, the decision to quit was made long ago, because she disagreed with a number of the fundamental standpoints of "Russia's Choice."

DPR Insurgents Affirm Censure of Travkin

MK1511131094 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Natalya Arkhangelskaya: "Nikolay Travkin Has Admitted His Mistake"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the weekend the Russian Democratic Party National Committee held its session. The committee confirmed, by 23 votes out of 45, the no-confidence vote given Nikolay Travkin by the party Duma faction, and set a date for a party congress: 17 December. The congress is to finally decide the question about the chairman and a new policy line.

The National Committee appointed a group to draft a new party program, headed by Travkin's chief opponent, Sergey Glazyev, who is chairman of the Duma Economic Policy Committee. Signs are that now, when on 8 November he became a member not only of the Democratic Party faction but the party itself, Glazyev is ready to contest Travkin over the post of chairman. Stanislav Govorukhin stated that he has nothing to do within one party with Travkin: He will not join the party until Travkin leaves it. Committee members also decided to withdraw from the Public Accord Pact.

After making these decisions 12 November, the next day some members of the party leadership went to Shakhovskoy Rayon to see Travkin, thereby leaving those who remained in Moscow without a quorum. As a result of the negotiations it transpired that Travkin does not recognize the committee's decision, continues to regard himself as chairman of the Democratic Party, and intends to take part in the upcoming congress whose preparation he will attend to personally. Travkin agrees with the congress date set by the committee. In parting he promised the visitors to do "everything possible to prevent the Democratic Party of Russia becoming a subsidiary of the Zyuganov [Communist] party."

In a conversation with KOMMERSANT-DAILY's correspondent, Nikolay Travkin admitted that the main blame for the current crisis in the party lies with him because he had a final say in drawing up the list of the Duma party faction.

Yerin Says Names of Lawmakers' Assassins Known

LD1611095694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0933 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 16 ITAR-TASS—Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin told the State Duma on Wednesday [16 November] that the names of the assassins of two lawmakers are known and they are being searched for.

Andrey Aidzerdzis, a businessman-turned-lawmaker, was shot dead near his house, while Communist Deputy Valentin Martemyanov died this month after being beaten by unknown attackers near his home.

Yerin added that eight people have been detained in connection with the murder of Aidzerdzis.

The minister, who was called to the State Duma to report on the crime situation in the country, said that although the total number of crimes has decreased, cases of hostage-taking, contract murders and acts of terrorism are on the rise.

"Criminal professionalism is increasing", he stressed and added that 162 policemen were killed and 388 wounded this year.

Yerin, however, admitted that the work of the law enforcement agencies "is not yet adequate to the tense criminal situation". He said much is yet to be done in reforming the ministry and curtailing the wave of economic crimes.

Two Seats Remain Vacant in Russian Constitutional Court

LD1611105594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1016 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—Two seats remain vacant in the Russian Constitutional Court. Neither Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov, nor Tatarstan lawyer Raif Biktagirov were able to poll the necessary number of votes during today's voting in the Russian Council of the Federation (the upper house of the Russian parliament).

According to official figures, 65 votes were cast for Kalmykov and 59—for Bektagirov.

According to the rules of the Council of the Federation, a candidate, who polls the majority of votes from the total number of mps, i.e. not less than 90, becomes judge of the Constitutional Court.

Only one out of the five candidates nominated by the Russian president—Vice-Chairman of the Anti-monopoly Committee Yuriy Danilov—was able to poll

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the necessary number of votes on Tuesday and to become constitutional court judge.

FITUR Head Urges Talks on 27 Oct Demands

MM1511143194 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by the FITUR Information Center: "On Behalf of Millions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mikhail Shmakov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR], has sent the president, the government, and both chambers of the Federal Assembly letters in which he reports on the results of the protest measures taken by trade unions 27 October against the deterioration in the socioeconomic situation of workers. Over 8 million people in all oblasts, krays, and republics in Russia took part in it.

The event expressed the growing protest of people of labor against the many months of delays in the payment of wages, the looming mass unemployment, and also the passiveness of the authorities in settling these and other social questions.

The FITUR decided to take this action, unprecedented in its scale, because of actions by workers, the numerous strikes, various forms of stoppages in production and transportation, and group hunger strikes, which have been spreading uncontrollably.

The trade union leader proposed that the government start talks with the trade unions on the implementation of the demands put forward during the 27 October event. He expressed confidence that these demands and proposals would find support on the part of the Russian Federation president and the Federal Assembly.

Biographical Data Provided on Polevanov

LD1511142594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 15 ITAR-TASS—Ex-Chief of the Amur regional administration Vladimir Polevanov, 44, has been appointed chairman of the Russian State Committee for Property.

Polevanov is a doctor of geological-mineralogical sciences. He was long involved in scientific research. In October 1993 Polevanov was nominated acting head of the Amur regional administration, in December 1993 he became head of the Amur regional administration.

Sources in Blagoveshchensk told ITAR-TASS that Polevanov is currently in Moscow to attend a meeting of Russian President Boris Yeltsin with heads of Russian Far Eastern regions.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Signs Law To Ratify 1995 Federal Budget

MM1511135194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Nov 94 p 4

[Russian Federation Federal Law No. 36-FZ "On the Procedure for the Examination and Ratification of the 1995 Federal Budget," dated Moscow, The Kremlin, 5 November 1994 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin—this law was adopted by the State Duma 20 July 1994 and approved by the Federation Council 26 July 1994]

[FBIS Translated Text] The present federal law defines the schedule and procedure for examining and ratifying the 1995 Federal Budget.

Article 1. The Russian Federation Government submits the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma in the period prior to 1 October 1994 together with the following documents and materials:

initial results for the Russian Federation's socio-economic development during 1994, and a blueprint for and forecast of the Russian Federation's socio-economic development for 1995;

the main directions of the Russian Federation's budget and taxation policy for 1995;

a draft Summary Financial Balance for the territory of the Russian Federation for 1995;

the main principles and features of the correlation between the federal budget and the Russian Federation components' budgets in 1995;

a draft consolidated Russian Federation budget for 1995;

a draft federal budget for 1995 with quarterly assignments;

federal programs and federal programs for developing the regions which are intended to provide finance from the federal budget in 1995, with an indication of the sources of finance;

an assessment of the expected federal and consolidated budget results for 1994 and a report on the federal and consolidated budget results for 1993;

accounts for all items and sections of the 1995 federal budget.

Article 2. The Russian Federation Government submits to the State Duma in the period prior to 15 October 1994 draft 1995 budgets for state non-budget funds which have not been consolidated in the federal budget.

Article 3. The State Duma examines the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" in four readings.

Article 4. The State Duma gives the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" a first reading within 30 days of the Russian Federation Government's submitting it.

Article 5. Before the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is given a first reading, the State Duma committees and commission submit to the State Duma Committee for the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finances

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their conclusions on this draft law, on the basis of which the State Duma Committee for the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finances prepares a Summary Conclusion by the State Duma committees and commission on the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" and submits it to the State Duma for its scrutiny.

In giving the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" its first reading, the State Duma examines the blueprint for the draft 1995 federal budget as well as the Main Directions of Budget and Tax Policy, hears the Russian Federation Government's report and the coreport of the chairman of the State Duma Committee for the Budget, Taxes, Banks, and Finances, and makes a decision on adopting or rejecting this draft law as a framework.

If the draft law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is rejected on first reading, the State Duma adopts one of the following decisions:

to form a conciliation board comprising representatives of the State Duma and the Russian Federation Government to amend the draft 1995 federal budget based on recommendations set out in the Summary Conclusion. During the next 10 days, the conciliation board produces an agreed version amplifying points in the draft 1995 federal budget, after which the Russian Federation Government submits the amplified draft law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" for the scrutiny of the State Duma for a repeat first reading;

to return the aforementioned draft law to the Russian Federation Government. During the following 20 days the Russian Federation Government submits a new draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" to the State Duma taking into consideration the recommendations set out in the Summary Conclusion. The aforementioned draft law is only returned once. If it is rejected a second time, the State Duma may express a lack of confidence in the Russian Federation Government or adopt a decision on forming an appropriate conciliation board.

Article 6. When examining the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" on second reading, the State Duma examines and confirms the main outline of the 1995 federal budget which include:

the assignment of revenues from federal taxes and imposts between the federal budget and the Russian Federation components' budgets;

revenue from the federal budget;

the size of federal budget imbalance in absolute terms and as a percentage of expenditure;

federal budget expenditure.

Article 7. If the 1995 federal budget's basic outline fails to be adopted on second reading, a conciliation board comprising representatives of the State Duma and the Russian Federation Government is formed, which in the space of 10 days prepares an agreed version of the budget's basic outline, after which the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is submitted to the State Duma session for a repeat second reading.

Article 8. When the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is given a third reading, the State Duma confirms appropriations for the federal budget's items and sections and for federal programs, and the distribution of appropriations for the quarters of 1995, and determines a list of protected items in the federal budget and the upper limit of appropriations for protected items in the federal budget as a percentage of the federal budget's expenditure.

Article 9. At its fourth reading the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" as a whole is put to the vote.

Article 10. After the State Duma has adopted the Federal Law "On the 1995 Budget," draft budgets for state non-budget funds for 1995 which were have not been consolidated in the federal budget are examined and ratified.

Article 11. The Federal Law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is examined and approved by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council according to the procedure establish by the Russian Federation Constitution.

Article 12. If the draft federal law "On the 1995 Federal Budget" is not adopted by by 1 January 1995, a federal law "On Financing Expenses from the the Federal Budget During the First Quarter of 1995" is adopted.

Article 13. Until the adoption of a new, revised version of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic [RSFSR] Law "On the Framework of the RSFSR Budget System and Budget Process," Articles 20, 21, and 22 of this Law cease to have force.

Article 14. The present Federal Law comes into force from the day of its official publication.

[signed] President of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin

[dated] Moscow, The Kremlin, 5 November 1994

No. 36-FZ

Gaydar on Appointments, Central Bank Credits

LD1511162294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yegor Gaydar, the leader of the Russia's Choice parliamentary group was pleased with the appointment of Anatoliy Chubays as first deputy prime minister, Yevgeniy Yasin as economy minister and Vladimir Panskov as finance minister.

He told Interfax that if it pursued a credible and firm policy, the government might do without Central Bank credits next year and that it could obtain credits from international organizations for its tight crediting policy.

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He regretted the departure of deputy prime minister Aleksandr Shokhin. Gaydar emphasized that despite numerous differences they had, he regarded Shokhin as a knowledgeable economist well-versed in the essence of the issues he had tackled.

He said that the most important change for the better was the government's awareness that its oscillating inconsistent policy pursued in 1993-94 led nowhere.

Gaydar did not believe that all new appointments were equally lucky but now the declared program of the government could be implemented.

He said that his parliamentary group had not discussed its attitude towards Defense Minister Pavel Grachev whose report is to be presented to the State Duma Friday.

Gaydar explained that the ruling body of his party did not want one general to be replaced by another but wanted to place the Defense Ministry under a civilian control.

Yasin on Economic Policy, Concerns

MM1511142594 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with new Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin by TRUD political observer Vitaliy Golovachev, date and place not given: "Yevgeniy Yasin: Russia Will Not Become 'Raw-Materials Appendage'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Golovachev] Aren't you worried about being pitched into this hot seat?

[Yasin] You know, there is a good proverb—every journey begins with a single step. In for a penny, in for a pound: Let's get down to work.

[Golovachev] The Economy Ministry has an immense responsibility. I will quote: "It is the central federal executive organ implementing state economic policy. Within the framework of this task the Russian Economy Ministry is obliged to analyze the socioeconomic and financial situation and the position in the commodity, financial, securities, and stock markets, to highlight imbalances in the country's economic development, and to determine ways to eradicate them...." But actually the Economy Ministry seems to have no specific administrative levers for influencing the Finance Ministry and the Central Bank....

[Yasin] If you are referring to administrative levers, then it is right that there should no longer be any—privatization and the nonstate sector cannot simply be "ordered around".... And thank God that the Economy Ministry has left the former Gosplan [State Planning Committee] behind. As for real influence, there are other instruments for that—economic instruments. I see our ministry as a think tank—a kind of headquarters where the strategy and tactics of reform are elaborated, where practical issues are problems are studied, and where ways of solving them are found in good time. The Ministry is putting its own proposals forward for examination by the government, and subsequently the entire administrative mechanism will be brought into play.

[Golovachev] Won't the Ministry simply become a government "analysis center"?

[Yasin] No. I am talking about an economic headquarters which has to elaborate a specific and targeted policy. You will agree that this is an entirely different kettle of fish. The headquarters takes decisions and strives to get them implemented. The Economy Ministry is an important link in the federal executive.

[Golovachev] But unlike the Finance Ministry you do not give people money....

[Yasin] Why? The Economy Ministry makes decisions, for instance, on capital investment and takes part in resolving questions of the financing of various programs.

[Golovachev] Many people are worried about the question of whether the government intends to change course. Will there be a retreat from reform?

[Yasin] I must say that government policy is indeed changing. But in what direction? In the direction of the deepening of market transformations. The draft budget for 1995 is indeed a new stage in the implementation of reform. The main aim of this stage is macroeconomic stabilization. On the whole, the government line suits me. As for the details, we need to provide proof and advance arguments and estimates to support our proposals.

[Golovachev] What if, nonetheless, there is a turn away from the market?

[Yasin] If there is a retreat from the liberal vector, from private investment and so forth—in short, if I disagree with government policy—I will of course resign. I will not cling on to my position.

[Golovachev] There has been a lot written along the lines that Chubays' appointment as first vice premier is a kind of "ploy" to "lull" the vigilance of world public opinion, while in the meantime the government will be gradually retreating from the reform policy....

[Yasin] Well, you know.... Anyone who says that Chubays can be used as a kind of "screen" simply doesn't know him. He is a man who will not sacrifice his principles one iota.

[Golovachev] First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets recently said that Russians can expect a new shock—the shock of bankruptcies. Do you believe that a further wide-ranging production slump is possible and that it will lead to the deindustrialization of the country?

[Yasin] There should be no wide-ranging slump. We have already approximately halved production volumes

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in the country. But this slump was inevitable. We can debate whether it might have been more orderly (I personally advocate this) or more abrupt, but it is impossible to avoid declines during economic reform. Industry, which has low levels of competitiveness, has been closed off from the world, and is poorly adapted to market conditions, could not continue on its former scale.

The factors governing a future slump have now eased. You mentioned bankruptcies. But to all intents and purposes production at these enterprises has already fallen; they only have their people left. So the processes of recapitalization and bankruptcy will not have a major impact on overall slump rates. It is just that what is actually happening will be officially recorded. We will indeed have to go through a very painful process of bankruptcy and then renewal and revival of production.

[Golovachev] What about the defaulting crisis? Does that not threaten a collapse in production?

[Yasin] It is a very serious problem. But there has already been some progress toward solving it. If we take the real amounts of unpaid debt (as a percentage of GDP), there has been no growth there. I would express cautious optimism about the work of the commission on defaulting. A specific study is being done and "sore" points are being brought to light. Many enterprises are artificially initiating an avalanche of defaulting, while putting other people's money "to work," opening foreign-currency accounts, and so forth. All this will now begin to be clarified....

We need to realize that the defaulting problem will not be resolved quickly. We need patient, concrete work—which is what we have embarked on.

[Golovachev] You say that no further serious fall in production is expected. Can it be said that we have already "bottomed out"?

[Yasin] Almost; we are close to bottoming out. If the economic policy is maintained we will touch bottom in the spring or summer.

[Golovachev] What then...?

[Yasin] In fact I am confident that there will be progress, that time is working in Russians' favor.

[Golovachev] But, for instance, the situation in the processing industry is extremely serious, machine building has almost collapsed....

[Yasin] I would not dramatize the situation. The situation is indeed serious, but not catastrophic. I think that the danger lies elsewhere. All we hear these days is that the fuel and energy complex is prospering and the processing industry is dying—people claim that the economy is being deformed in favor of raw-materials production. "Russia is becoming a raw-materials appendage of the West...." People are suggesting a price freeze for fuel and energy, tough controls.... My response to this would be that the fuel and energy complex can easily be stifled, but we must realize that this is the anchor which is currently **saving** us. Fuel and energy complex output is being exported, while machine-building products are basically uncompetitive. We need to give the processing industry time to restructure. The fuel and energy complex is being given that time. But if we bury the fuel and energy complex we will lose everything. So we should not scare the people with the prospect of Russia's being turned into a "raw-materials" appendage. A painful process of adaptation, conversion, and the restructuring of plants is under way, but everything will ultimately sort itself out. We only need time and a little of patience.

[Golovachev] But the patience of the 30 million Russians below the poverty line is already exhausted....

[Yasin] Problems of living standards are always acute in a weak economy. The government will strengthen social policy as much as it can, but the fundamental decision is to strengthen the economy. The first step is to achieve the macroeconomic stabilization scheduled for next year.

[Golovachev] What will the inflation rate be at the end of this year and next year?

[Yasin] I think it will be no more than 7-8 percent in November-December, around 5 percent a month in the first quarter of next year, 2 percent in mid-year, and 1 percent in December 1995. If, of course, we are able to stick to the course we have mapped out.

[Golovachev] What would you consider to be the most acute problem next year?

[Yasin] Unemployment. The position is particularly acute in the so-called depressed regions. These may cover an entire oblast or republic. For instance, in the Kuzbass Novokuznetsk is a more or less prosperous city, while Prokopyevsk and Kiselevsk are potential disaster areas. This can also be said of the city of Serov in Sverdlovsk Oblast. The situation in Ivanovo Oblast is difficult. Particular attention should be paid to these sore spots....

[Golovachev] What form will that "attention" take—giving them money from the budget?

[Yasin] We are not merely talking about people asking for money. We need to study the situation in greater depth and find a solution. Take Ivanovo Oblast, for instance. Why is the textile industry in "bad shape"? Not because there is no demand for its products. The main problem is that there is no raw material—cotton. And where is the "Roskontrakt" Company, you may well ask? Why has cotton not been bought from Uzbekistan? And if it has been bought, where is it? Where has it gone? Those are things that need to be gone into in detail....

[Golovachev] How do you assess the events of "Black Tuesday"? Were the bankers really plotting to bury the ruble?

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[Yasin] I do not believe that there was a "plot." Let alone a plot among the banks to conduct operations on the exchange.

[Golovachev] Why did the Central Bank permit the "collapse"?

[Yasin] The fall of the ruble was a reflection of the actual processes in our economy. The money supply has grown faster than prices. I see the Central Bank's fault as lying elsewhere—in the fact that for a long time it artificially supported a ruble which should have been allowed to "float," smoothly but more vigorously. Then there would not have been an October "collapse," and the $2 billion spent by the Central Bank would have been saved. I would note that there are very many criminal aspects to our economy, but not in this case.

[Golovachev] Are you more radical, more moderate, or more conservative than Aleksandr Shokhin, who was your predecessor as economy minister?

[Yasin] I think that Shokhin and I are essentially of like mind.

[Golovachev] What about your relationship with Vladimir Panskov, the new finance minister? As is well known, Panskov's appointment—which was not coordinated with Shokhin—gave Aleksandr Nikolayevich a reason to tender his resignation....

[Yasin] I have a good relationship with Panskov. I have complete mutual understanding with Deputy Minister Aleksashenko—incidentally, he was a student of mine, and I am proud of him. In short, I hope to have normal business contacts with the Finance Ministry.

[Golovachev] What was your wife's reaction to your new appointment?

[Yasin] She was very upset and is worried about me. "Why do you have to do it?" she kept on asking....

[Golovachev] One last question. How have you been received by the Ministry?

[Yasin] Very well. There are many people here too who think along the same lines as I. They are essentially a team of professionals. I am going to like working with them. That, incidentally, is one more reason why I agreed to do it.

The economy is in a very difficult and unstable position, but there is now a real chance of finally getting things moving. It would be unforgivable to miss this opportunity.

Military Issues

Generals Hold 'Roundtable,' Note Budget, Future

MK1511132094 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Igor Korotchenko in the "Problem" column: "The Russian Federation Defense Industry Is on the Verge of Technological Catastrophe. So Say the Military Industrial Complex Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported earlier, on 12 November a session of the roundtable on restructuring Russia's military industrial complex was held in Moscow, organized by the League for the Assistance of Defense Enterprises, and our newspaper. [passage omitted]

The basic indicators of the performance by state defense industry enterprises in the first nine months of 1994, which were presented to the roundtable, are noteworthy. Thus, the volume of industrial output fell by 41.8 percent compared to the same period last year. Industrial production fell the most in the aviation (48 percent), electronic (46.6 percent), communications (45.2 percent), and arms (41.6 percent) industry. Production of civilian goods, in comparable prices in September 1994, compared to September 1993, declined by 40.6 percent; military output, by 44.4 percent. The average industry payrolls shrank by 16.8 percent.

Still harder times lie ahead for the Russian defense industry. It is expected that in 1995-1997 negative economic trends will be growing, and therefore the main task is to ensure the survival of basic production facilities and scientific schools which shape the national military industry. This will not be easy to do, however. One of the most acute problems is the meager financing and the absence of minimal working capital. Russia is increasingly lagging behind the West in high technology. Advanced R&D projects are being scaled down. The flight of scientists and engineers from the country is growing.

As for the corresponding 1995 federal budget items, they mean the effective ruin of the domestic military industrial complex.

According to a number of speakers, actions to disrupt the military industrial complex are of a purposeful and planned character. [passage omitted]

Later on, the discussion took on a clearly political character. [passage omitted]

Federal Assembly

Duma Statement Protesting U.S. Move on Bosnia

MM1611101894 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Nov 94 First Edition p 6

[State Duma statement, dated 11 November: "Complex Dispute Tackled Differently. State Duma Statement on U.S. Unilateral Actions Undermining Embargo on Arms Shipments to Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Administration unilaterally adopted a decision 11 November 1994 effectively undermining the embargo on arms shipments to Bosnia.

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This decision was adopted after the U.S. stance on this matter was rejected by the UN Security Council. Thus the United States has demonstrated its lack of respect for the opinion of the world community.

The Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma believes that the U.S. decision constitutes a striking contravention of the practice of resolving complex international issues on a multilateral basis, to which the United States itself pays lip service. These actions on the part of the United States, dictated by short-term domestic considerations, will lead to chaos and arbitrariness in international relations and the sharp exacerbation of the Balkan crisis.

The State Duma:

1. Resolutely protests the unilateral U.S. actions in the Yugoslav crisis which undermine the activity of the Contact Group.

2. Asks the president of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federation Government, mindful of the new situation, to take steps to neutralize the destructive U.S. actions and brief the Russian Federation Federal Assembly on the steps taken.

3. Asks the president of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federation Government to consider the advisability of including this as an issue for emergency debate on the UN Security Council agenda.

4. Believes that Russia must do everything it can to counter the United States' unwarranted and unilateral actions in the Yugoslav crisis with a well-considered and coordinated approach which will bring an end to the bloodshed.

Moscow, 11 November 1994.

Duma's Rybkin on Yeltsin, Current Issues

MM1511160094 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Nov 94 First Edition pp 1-2

["Text" of interview with State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin by Andrey Karaulov, screened on Russian Television's "Moment of Truth" program on 14 November, under the rubric "First Hand: On TV and in the Newspaper": "Truth, Half-Truth, and 'Moment of Truth.' The Duma Is the Way It Is. We All Elected It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is important not only to listen to interviews with those in power, but to read them too. Today our newspaper is the only one to offer its subscribers the opportunity to study the text of the television dialogue which went on the air last night between Russian State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin and the well-known journalist Andrey Karaulov, on the "Moment of Truth" program. Let us remind you that only ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA prints television interviews with leading politicians before or immediately after they are screened.

[Karaulov] Imagine you are calling on the president—(an off-screen voice is heard imitating Yeltsin)—Ivan Petrovich! You have appeared for our meeting right on time, to the minute. Tell me, how many minutes ahead did they wake you?

[Rybkin] We get up by ourselves. We have gotten into the habit of going to work over many years—early.

[Karaulov] (still imitating the president's voice) I have an informal proposal to put to you—we defended the government, carried out reshuffles, elevated Chubays. Next week let's meet in an informal atmosphere—without our wives.

[Rybkin] Well, there are such things as stag parties, even there you can have detailed discussions. But the worries are still the same, the ones that are outside your windows.

[Karaulov] Isn't this life boring?

[Rybkin] How can I put it.... If you're asking me as a man who worked at a higher educational establishment for 17 years: Of course there were golden moments.

[Karaulov] It is well known that Rybkin doesn't drink, doesn't smoke, thinks about the future. The newspapers say he is thinking about how to become president of Russia.

[Rybkin] That's what the newspapers say.

[Karaulov] Shouldn't they?

[Rybkin] The point is that there is a tough job, a man's job to be done. I said Academician Bogomolov could head the Duma. In the Russian tradition, the first Dumas were headed by university professors. But they said to me: Never mind, you take the job.

[Karaulov] Academician Bogomolov is a well-known man. When things were hard, many people just hid in his institute. He paid them wages, regardless of Brezhnev and Andropov. But I couldn't tell you, to save my life, who Lev Ponomarev is, or what he did before coming to Democratic Russia. Don't you get the feeling that people impose themselves on society, on Russia?

[Rybkin] As for the Duma, it is the way it is. If only because people just elected it.

[Karaulov] They say on the radio that a charitable organization handed out condoms to the deputies in the Duma. Is that true?

[Rybkin] I haven't heard about it. Unfortunately. Because the chairman should know everything.

[Karaulov] How do you feel when Senator Marychev proposes that Senator Fedulova undergo a medical examination for AIDS because, as he says, who knows what she might bring back from abroad?

[Rybkin] I think what a good thing it is that our deputies are not skilled in the oriental martial arts.

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[Karaulov] The parodist A. Ivanov wrote a nasty epigram about you: "Some people have just one passion, but a burning one, like a starving man—for the light of Marxist ideas. Rybkin used to be well and truly red. Now he is in power. And the victories of communism are set aside." Weren't you offended?

[Rybkin] Not at all. Many things come belatedly. Some things are reevaluated. It is the natural course of events.

[Karaulov] Evolution is one thing, betrayal is another which the newspaper ZAVTRA often accuses you of. During the days of the October coup you were in the White House until the last moment.

[Rybkin] You raised the subject of betrayal. I don't know who betrayed whom. They said the acting president, or simply the vice president [Rutskoy], must resign. Ruslan Imranovich [Khasbulatov] must too, they said. Before the president's inauguration we were at a big parliamentary seminar in Vienna. At that time the question of who would be chairman of the Supreme Soviet arose. G.I. Zadonskiy and S.N. Yushenkov supported me when I said that Khasbulatov could not be chairman.

[Karaulov] Things are doubtless not easy for you, man to man, with Yeltsin, because Yeltsin shot at you, at the White House.

[Rybkin] Nobody in the Russian leadership is simple. Those who organize the organizers are very highly complex people. Your interviewee today is no exception.

[Karaulov] How did you feel when you heard that Boris Nikolayevich did not get out of the plane in Ireland?

[Rybkin] What can I say? He should have gotten out of the plane, the bodyguard should not have the power to stop even the first vice premier from getting to the president....

[Karaulov] Or did someone let Boris Nikolayevich down again? The visit simply had not been prepared for....

[Rybkin] I only said what I said.

[Karaulov] We are all human. We have no other country, we have no other president. But when Comrade Shumeyko explains that Yeltsin didn't conduct "Kalinka" because he was drunk.... That just makes it worse. Well, it can happen to anyone, we would understand: There was a reception, and after that he felt like a bit of conducting.

[Rybkin] I saw what happened there, from start to finish. Throughout the day the president was in tune with the atmosphere in the streets of Berlin. And even where people were shouting: "Kohl-weg," "Bus-weg," meaning "down with" Kohl and the bus that the Russian leaders arrived in, the president suddenly turned around and walked up to that crowd of people. Leaving the bodyguard dumbstruck, he went up to them, said hi, and then these same people started shouting "hurrah." Sometimes it doesn't suit some people to tell the truth.

[Karaulov] Does it not suit some people to tell the truth about the president? After all, he has so many supporters, such a powerful team, his staff—1,000 people.... Yet simply to explain, in human terms, that Yeltsin was really in tune with that carnival atmosphere.... But nobody did it. Why not?

[Rybkin] I studied German, you know. I even gave a course of lectures in Germany. I watched all the TV programs during the visit. They showed the president's speech in full, with a full translation. When I came back and looked at our own reports of the trip.... Fragments are taken out of context. What you end up with is something that you could not even call a half-truth. It is simply untrue.

[Karaulov] In the Duma, a deputy demands that the president be examined, the implication being for alcoholism. Rybkin listens to all this and.... One of two things: Either the Duma forms an authoritative commission of doctors which will give its diagnosis, and then the opposition will be put to shame, or else the commission admits that the suggestions are true. But we have neither of those things.

[Rybkin] I'm not a doctor. Or else I'm a doctor of other sciences, not a medical doctor. But the situation is such that you have to stick to one principle—don't believe your own eyes. For instance, we go to a meeting with the president. Myself and five of my deputies. One of the young deputies, a bit of a hothead who wants to be a bigger politician than he is now, says: "I'll shake the president's weak hand, I'll sit for a while, and I'll leave." We arrive. The conversation is like trapshooting, with my deputies throwing questions at him unexpectedly. The president answers them. When he greets us and when we say good-bye, he shakes hands. We leave, and I ask: "Well?" My deputy says: "Now I'm going to tell the journalists: Not only can he shake your hand firmly, he can do other things too."

[Karaulov] Does the president consult you on cadre questions?

[Rybkin] He had the idea that all factions, without exception, could put forward proposals for candidates for the government. I passed on their proposals to the president.

[Karaulov] Ivan Petrovich, God knows you love power. Even your face changed when I said that the Duma is so influential.

[Rybkin] That was probably from a sense of pride in my colleagues.

[Karaulov] But some rather strange people can sometimes be encountered among your colleagues.

[Rybkin] The fact is that even a tiny little village has its smart guy, the one that people come and consult, and its idiot. We elected the people we elected.

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[Karaulov] If these people said to you: Go to the president and tell him Travkin should be prime minister and Zhirinovskiy foreign minister—you wouldn't go, surely?

[Rybkin] It is not easy for the president to choose a government that suits the mood in the country, so that anyone, back there in that village, can look at the government and say: "I don't like that one, but this one is one of us."

[Karaulov] I am afraid of something else: One morning we will open the newspaper and find someone else is prime minister.

[Rybkin] It isn't only the president who decides. And you know it. The vote [of confidence] on 27 October could have been different if the president and the premier had been less convincing in their arguments.

[Karaulov] Did you foresee the possible outcome of that discussion of the government?

[Rybkin] Given the situation, yes, of course. Incidentally, the president also predicted that percentage of votes. And he was right.

[Karaulov] Did you know Chernomyrdin would stay in the end?

[Rybkin] It isn't a game. It's the country's future. And it is highly necessary to renew the government by appointing professionals.

[Karaulov] Will this renewal take place?

[Rybkin] It will, and it must be a constant process. Have you noticed which member of the government travels most?

[Karaulov] Kozyrev.

[Rybkin] Kozyrev visits the cities and villages of other countries. He also finds time to go to Murmansk, his constituency. But Chernomyrdin travels more than anyone. And he visits the plants. Which of the leaders of our political parties goes there today? Neither Zhirinovskiy nor the others are in any hurry to visit the plants. They go to clubs where their supporters go. And they return incredibly encouraged. I say to them: "Why are you so encouraged? You gathered an audience of your supporters. You spent a couple of hours encouraging each other. Outside your windows, life is following an entirely different law, a different course."

[Karaulov] You stand out very favorably from many people because of your sobriety and clarity. But even you, as speaker, are forced to play according to laws that are not entirely honest. A simple example. For Chernomyrdin to stay, some of the deputies had to be bought. The Duma is building an apartment block for deputies in Mitino with its own money, costing approximately 1.5 billion rubles [R]. That means that we taxpayers have given R9 each—every inhabitant of the country—for an apartment block for deputies.

[Rybkin] The Duma did not order an apartment block in Mitino at all. At first, Yuzhnoye Butovo was chosen for the State Duma, 300 official apartments are needed. That is the first thing. Second. When it came to moving in, Moscow discovered that the President's Administration of Affairs would not pay up. So then 32 billion had to be handed over for that apartment block out of the 179 billion earmarked for the Duma in the budget.

[Karaulov] Ivan Petrovich, we know how Umalatova moved into an official apartment. R57 billion and $84 million was spent on reconstructing the State Duma, while only 179 billion was allocated to eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Kurils.

[Rybkin] I would agree with you if I did not know one simple thing. I have come to the Duma, but the State Duma is like a hanger-on in Moscow. Yet the Duma is a state body. Back in 1906 the czar allocated the Tauride Palace to the first Duma.

A great country was not put together bit by bit. And we are not foundlings, but elected representatives.

[Karaulov] ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI publishes an interview with Defense Minister Grachev in which he says that his son has never had a garage. Two days later a photocopy is published of a letter from Grachev to the prefect of a certain district asking him to give garages to two lieutenants—his own son and someone else. What are your feelings when you are dealing with the defense minister?

[Rybkin] I like the minister better when he says that within the ring road officers can only serve with the defense minister's permission.

[Karaulov] You were in Germany when our retreat from there was celebrated. The tanks are standing abandoned near Moscow. The officers have nowhere to live. Over there they danced to "Kalinka," here it is a disaster.

[Rybkin] True, we had to leave Germany, but to leave it intelligently. On the streets of Berlin, for instance, I saw people crying openly.

[Karaulov] What about "Black Tuesday," Ivan Petrovich?

[Rybkin] It is axiomatic. In all countries, even with a highly developed market infrastructure, the concept of state regulation exists. If you can't do it, don't start. That is why, although I have the warmest regard for Aleksandr Nikolayevich [Shokhin], I say with regret: That Tuesday, they "did a Madrid" [reference to Madrid attempt artificially to boost dollar rate]. The way things were going was obvious, a state regulation mechanism should have been switched in. But the premier did not even go to the exchange for several days.

[Karaulov] You removed Gerashchenko; where is Gerashchenko working now?

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[Rybkin] We did not remove Gerashchenko. The situation was rather different: He is aware of the extent of his responsibility and will obviously make the right decision himself. Although he is a highly experienced banker. He is working as a consultant to the Central Bank.

[Karaulov] He goes to all the sessions of the board of directors and is, they say, virtually running the Central Bank. Why stage the show of his resignation?

[Rybkin] Well, that's what they say. In the early days former leaders go along and make suggestions, and then they gradually turn into consultants. Gerashchenko and Shokhin should not have given the commercial banks such a free rein.

[Karaulov] After my conversations with Shokhin, before he resigned, I had the feeling that for a long time he had not been in control of currency movements etc. That there are banks—Smolenskiy's "Stolichnyy," Gusinskiy's bank—that are more responsible for the money and the economy than the vice premier is. So who is running the country today—Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, and Rybkin, or the bankers who do as they please?

[Rybkin] The principle "both one, and the other" is acceptable and applicable to the system we have arrived at in the country as a whole in professing this reform.

[Karaulov] Behind every political organization is a financial organization. Behind "Russia's Choice" is its own bank. Someone finances Zhirinovskiy. Aren't you personally still stunned by Zhirinovskiy?

[Rybkin] On the question of Zhirinovskiy, I can say only one thing: Vladimir Volfovich will never get a higher percentage than he did in those elections. More, I will say that that percentage is largely borrowed, someone else's. Many people who should have gotten that percentage were not involved in the election campaign, they were, to put it mildly, elsewhere.

[Karaulov] Is he normal, in fact, Ivan Petrovich?

[Rybkin] What's normal? Zhirinovskiy must never be president in Russia. I realize that this will provoke anger and it will cause inconvenience in my work. Very often nowadays elections are held, do you know with what intention? To spite someone.

[Karaulov] And the result is that Mavrodi gets elected, to spite everyone.

[Rybkin] People do play games of chance. Anyone who has any experience at all should realize that you can't make money out of thin air.

[Karaulov] Since you're in power, pass a law banning the building of these pyramids.

[Rybkin] Agreed. Back then, in August, we sensed we had been hasty. I believe the president felt it too, and signed the edict on regulating the securities market.

[Karaulov] But the KGB could confiscate the accounts of firms that betrayed their shareholders. They could probably find plenty of money in the West. Well, distribute those funds to those who got burned on "MMM" and "Tibet." Can that be done?

[Rybkin] A solution must of course be sought, especially for poor people who are helpless in market conditions.

[Karaulov] You are responsible for Mavrodi now, he's your colleague.

[Rybkin] As soon as the Central Electoral Commission announces the results, it will be discussed. I have another regret. That you can be elected to the Duma by 7.5 percent of the votes.

[Karaulov] For you personally, is Gaydar really a miracle-working reformer, or a person who has lived without feeling the country beneath his feet?

[Rybkin] Improvisation, as the French say, is appropriate in love. All other improvisations must be carefully prepared. A country like Russia cannot live without the principles of state regulation. Roosevelt, in the terrible situation of the Great Depression, was not ashamed to summon the Marxist Keynes and study the principles of state regulation.

[Karaulov] Has our country been robbed?

[Rybkin] Yes, capital is being taken out of the country, at an estimated rate of 1.5-2 billion a month. But these problems cannot be resolved by administrative methods alone. Some 10 percent of Russia's population live in magnificent style, they want nothing, they have everything. But 10 percent live very badly.

[Karaulov] Could the state somehow reduce the distance between those 10 percents?

[Rybkin] It absolutely must, that is why state regulation is needed. It must and can do it.

[Karaulov] General Aleksandr Korzhakov, chief of Yeltsin's bodyguard, was one of those who saved Russia during the October days. But the writer Maksimov, in PRAVDA, calls Kurzhakov Malyuta Skuratov [irrepressible character in Dostoyevskiy novel], and it is said more and more often in the newspapers that Korzhakov is number two in the state and decides everything. What is your view?

[Rybkin] Many of the president's assistants from his immediate entourage have said that you can give the president advice, but you can't impose your will. I think we have the same phenomenon in the case of Korzhakov.

[Karaulov] Do you know who killed Kholodov?

[Rybkin] No, I don't.

[Karaulov] Have you followed the course of the investigation?

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[Rybkin] Yes, of course. I think the investigation is close to finding the killers. But I am certainly not going to preempt the investigation. I can say one thing: It is true that the profession of journalist and the profession of deputy are not the safest today.

[Karaulov] Aren't you afraid of getting killed?

[Rybkin] In the past four or five years I've seen so many things.... True, some people have the desire to intimidate you, quite simply. I don't think that's the most important thing.

[Karaulov] It was a good thing, of course, for Solzhenitsyn to address the Duma. But maybe our country's other outstanding minds will now address the Duma on Mondays?

[Rybkin] That's not a bad idea. Many people have something to say, in particular if they have suffered for their views. We'll certainly continue the tradition.

[Karaulov] Were you surprised that Solzhenitsyn, in his speech, did not find a single good word to say about what has been done in the country?

[Rybkin] Aleksandr Isayevich, whose talent as a writer I value and respect, largely spoke as interpreter of the feelings he had gathered and absorbed on his way from Vladivostok to Moscow. I have difficulty sharing some of his thought processes, or do not share them at all, for instance when he says we should forget our interests in the south. However it may be, the three fraternal peoples—Ukraine, Belorussia [Belarus], and Russia—must be together, under a single state roof or else in a single economic union, but without such tough customs and borders.

[Karaulov] You look tired. Is it because you dream about all this at night?

[Rybkin] I sleep quite peacefully, although I sometimes dream about figures.

Life mostly consists of simple, everyday, hard work. Any nation acquires its dignity through everyday hard work, mental and manual. If that does not happen, nothing happens, and the State Duma is no exception here.

Black Sea Fleet Base Favored in Sevastopol

LD1511210894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2017 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—Russian parliament members intend to achieve preservation of the Black Sea Fleet basing system in the Crimea with the chief base in Sevastopol. They also want to prevent joint basing of the Black Sea Fleet and the Ukrainian Navy, a meeting of the Duma Committee for Affairs of the Commonwealth and Relations with Compatriots was told here today.

They think it would be expedient to coordinate actions of all Russian ministries and departments in relations with Ukraine, primarily those economic. They stressed that protracted solution of the Black Sea Fleet problem results in lowered combat ability of the fleet and an aggravated social and economic position of Russian servicemen stationed on Ukrainian territory.

The Russian president has instructed First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets to discuss the Black Sea Fleet issue with Ukraine within the framework of the president's Ukrainian visit scheduled for late November.

The stand of Russian deputies who are not prone to allow unilateral concessions may influence the meeting, Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief Admiral Feliks Gromov told ITAR-TASS. In the words of Gromov, the solution of the Black Sea Fleet problem will influence further relations between Russia and Ukraine. There is hope this will be a policy of mutual understanding, mutual concessions and mutual acceptability, said the admiral.

The Black Sea fleet problem should be settled with due account of the Ukrainian stand on the international scene, Black Sea Fleet Commander Admiral Eduard Baltin told the parliament hearings. He told ITAR-TASS that the Ukrainian stand on the fleet can be influenced by the U.S. trip of the Ukrainian president to be held on November 22-24. It can also be influenced by the upcoming Russian-Ukrainian summit, stressed the admiral.

Duma Deputies Voice Dissatisfaction With Yerin on Crime

LD1611093994 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0852 GMT 16 Nov 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Our correspondent Sergey Suntsov reports from the hall of the State Duma sitting.

[Suntsov] Good morning. Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin has just addressed the Duma deputies. He is now replying to deputies' questions. Well, to describe the report itself: It was entitled: Concerning Emergency Measures to Combat Crime. The speech does not leave one with the impression that the internal affairs minister focused on the problem areas. He mainly confined himself to statistics, to general data on the current activities and conditions of work of those who stand guard over law and order.

To be quite honest—and judging by the first few questions which have now been put in the hall to the minister—some deputies, or to be more correct one should say all the deputies, are dissatisfied with the level of crime, which is enormous, and measures to combat crime which have been adopted are not as efficient as they could be. What I mean is that deputies say the campaign against crime must be intensified, judging by

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the questions so far. Other deputies reckon that an excessive increase in the numbers of paramilitary street patrols will lead to graver consequences, creating a microclimate [as heard]. However, I must say that the discussion as a whole...[pauses] Chairmen of committees and faction representatives are to take the floor yet and this is perhaps all I can tell you as of this moment.

Federation Council Votes on Constitutional Court Judge

LD1511231394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1755 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Federation Council has included three candidates to the post of Russian Constitutional Court judge on the ballot-paper for a secret voting. Among them are Yuriy Danilov, Mikhail Krasnov, and Valeriy Savitsky who have collected respectively 74, 60, and 58 votes during the secret single transferable vote.

The single transferable vote on five candidates for three vacant places in the Constitutional Court was held in booths with ballot-papers, as a result, a secret vote will again be held on three candidates for their appointment to these posts.

If the three vacant posts are not filled after the results of the secret voting there will be other rounds of voting where contenders who have occupied the fourth and fifth places in the single transferable vote, Yury Kalmykov and Raif Bektagirov, will be able to participate in the voting. As many as 57 and 27 of 128 deputies who participated in the voting voted for them during the single transferable vote.

A candidate must collect not less than 90 votes during the second round of voting in order to be appointed to the post of a judge in Russia's Constitutional Court.

Federation Council To Discuss Judicial Issues

MM1511162294 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by Lyubov Volodina: "'Juridical' Week at Federation Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 12th session of the Federation Council, which opens today in Moscow, promises, unlike certain preceding ones, an intensive agenda, serious discussions, and very important decisions. Several draft laws requiring approval and problems concerning Russia's judicial system have accumulated at the upper chamber.

To begin with, the Federation Council is to complete the formation of the Constitutional Court. Let us remind our readers that there remain three vacancies at the Constitutional Court, and it cannot start work until they are filled. The senators are faced with a difficult choice. The president has put forward five candidates for the three vacancies, and, before it gets down to the election procedure, the chamber will have to decide on the voting system, which in itself could delay the adoption of a decision. The forming of the Russian Federation Supreme Court will be continued at the same session.

The upper chamber is to approve the law "On the Main Guarantees of Russian Federation Citizens' Electoral Rights," adopted by the State Duma. The draft law, which was drawn up by Central Electoral Commission experts, went through the lower chamber with many difficulties; the State Duma committees and factions took part in its revision, and in the course of the work the bill underwent significant changes. Such an impassioned attitude to this law is fully understandable: It is the first and fundamental law from the package of electoral laws which is supposed to lay down the principles of electoral law in Russia, define citizens' rights and duties facilitating the realization of their constitutional rights, and establish the status of the electoral commissions so as to preclude their being influenced by either the power structures or political organizations.

Also awaiting approval is the Russian Federation Civil Code (Part 1), whose entry into force will systematize legal relations in the economic sphere, as well as a series of laws concerning the country's legal proceedings systems.

The Federation Council is also to ratify a number of international agreements between Russia and the countries of the near abroad—Latvia, Estonia, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, and Georgia—concerning the regulation of Russian citizens' rights in those states and the problems of refugees and migrants.

For the same week parliamentary hearings are planned on social policy and military regulation in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone and on the legislative regulation of land ownership, and also a scientific and practical conference on the problems of Russia's small peoples.

Regional Affairs

Nationalists Picket U.S. Consulate in St. Petersburg

LD1511165194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1546 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Natalya Cherepanova]

[FBIS Translated Text] St. Petersburg, 15 Nov—The "Russian nationalists" [Russkiye natsionalisty], as the members of the "People's Union in Support of Russian Patriots" call themselves, picketed the building of the U.S. Consulate General in St. Petersburg today. The reason for the protest was that the Americans have stopped monitoring observation of the embargo on arms deliveries to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government.

The pickets handed a petition to the staff of the consulate condemning U.S. foreign policy toward Serbia and

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describing the "assistance" to the Bosnian Muslims as "intended deepening of the tragedy in a Slav home."

Dudayev Analyzes Russian Foreign Policy

LD1511191094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1637 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev said he believed that the Middle East would soon become "an arena of bloody confrontation due to the conflicting interests of Russia and the US." Dudayev said this to the Chechen Security Council when analyzing some aspects of Russian foreign policy.

Interfax correspondents report that Dudayev said he believed that Russia would "suffer a final defeat in the Middle East."

Dudayev said that a "Chinese threat" also was a real threat for Russia at the present moment. He said this included the "quiet occupation of Russia by China, to which the patient and persistent mentality of the Chinese contributed to a significant degree." He said he believed that this paved the way for the Chinese developing the endless territory of Russia. Dudayev urged the Russian leaders to pursue a more prudent policy towards China. He added that, however, he was sure that the interests of Russia and China would inevitably confront each other though it would take place not in Siberia or the Far East but in Kazakhstan.

Groznyy Calm Despite Arms Supply to Opposition

LD1511162694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy has responded calmly to a statement from the opposition Interim Council about impending arms supplies from a number of CIS states, sources close to President Dzhokhar Dudayev told Interfax. They said Chechnya was in need of modern weapons and that sooner or later, these would fall into the hands of government troops.

Leader of one of the rebel units Bislan Gantamirov speaking at the end of a recent trip to a number of CIS states said that agreement was reached on the supply of a large amount of tanks, heavy artillery and aircraft to opposition forces.

In the meantime, a senior official in Groznyy expressed fears that part of the weapons shipped to Chechnya would eventually surface in central Russia.

Commission Formed To Free Government Hostage

LD1511210494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A commission has been created in Chechnya to free the republic's State Secretary Aslanbek Akbulatov, taken hostage by the opposition last week. An Interfax correspondent reported that the commission met Tuesday [15 November] to develop a plan of action to free Akbulatov.

Supposedly, Akbulatov is kept in the Urus-Martan district, where a number of villages are controlled by the leader of one of the opposition armed formations, Bislan Gantemirov. Gantemirov said Akbulatov would be exchanged for a former opposition deputy, Ibragim Suleymenov, who now heads another armed unit.

The commission passed an address to the Chechen government pointing to the need to "take immediate measures to prevent such terrorist acts against the republic's leadership."

The document says "conditions have emerged in Chechnya where criminal groups capture hostages, kill civilians and conduct terrorist acts using Russian equipment and experts."

Sakhalin Governor To Create Oblast Government

OW1611014194 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0815 GMT 15 Nov 94

[Sakhalin correspondent Ivan Vorobyev report; from the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an article headlined: "Envy Us Far Eastern Neighbors, Sakhalin is to Have Its Own Government!" the newspaper SOVETSKIY SAKHALIN reports that the governor has issued a decree on the creation of an oblast government. It is presently difficult to say what its functions will be since the Sakhalin Oblast Charter, which is being drafted by the oblast duma, makes no mention of this kind of governing organ.

However, according to the governor's decree the chairman of the government will be the first deputy governor. He in turn will have several deputies of his own, including a first deputy. It seems that the idea of vice premiers at the federal level is filtering down to subjects of the federation.

But what difference will it make for the residents of Sakhalin whether the executive authorities are called an administration or a government? What is more relevant is that seven industrial-economic districts [okrug] will be established from the current 17 rayons in the oblast by 1 December, and to sugar the pill of administrative multiplication it has been announced that an assessment of the administrations's leading departments will be carried out by the end of the year.

Fuel Shortages Threaten Nuclear Submarine Base

LD1611094694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0711 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 16 Nov—Urgent measures are being taken in Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk to supply fuel oil to power plants. Houses and

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other buildings in the towns are being heated, but at a low temperature due to the shortage of boiler fuel oil, ITAR-TASS learned today at the Russian Ministry for Emergencies. [passage omitted]

According to the ministry, the Arkhangelsk heat-and-power plant has 4,100 tonnes of fuel left, and the Severodvinsk plant 1,100 tonnes. It is clear that these reserves are insufficient to maintain the usual temperatures required to offset the current cold weather for the towns' residential and industrial buildings.

There is also a danger that the submarine construction center, which has dozens of nuclear reactors that have been removed from submarines due for scrap, may stop work. Electricity supplies to Plesetsk cosmodrome may also be cut. [passage omitted]

Fuel Supplies to Arkhangelsk Power Stations Cease

MM1511115194 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by Ivan Bentsa: "Government Powerless To Heat Freezing Northern Cities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Arkhangelsk—As of Sunday the supply of power to all industrial enterprises ceased in Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk. Fuel has run out at the local heat and electric power stations [TETS's].

"By Saturday there were just 6,000 tonnes of fuel at the Arkhangelsk TETS and 1,500 tonnes at the Severodvinsk TETS," says Vladimir Samodov, general director of "Arkhenergo." "But daily consumption under the restricted heating regime in Arkhangelsk is 2,000 tonnes and in Severodvinsk 1,700 tonnes." The "restricted regime" is when the heat-transfer agent is heated to just 70 degrees centigrade instead of 120 degrees, just to stop the pipes in apartment blocks freezing and bursting.

In October Pavel Balakshin, head of the Arkhangelsk Oblast administration, managed with great difficulty to extract credits for fuel from the federal government. On learning this the entire White Sea Coast breathed a sigh of relief: Thank God, now we shall survive the winter! But our joy was premature. Instead of money the Arkhangelsk power workers were issued with treasury bonds. But commercial structures categorically refused to accept these promissory notes as payment. Traditional suppliers of fuel oil from Ukhta and Yaroslavl raised the question directly: First real money, then fuel.

According to Vladimir Samodov, today it is impossible to buy fuel oil directly from the oil refineries. Commercial middlemen deal in all petroleum products. And they do not have much to say: If you have money you can fill your tanks, if not you can freeze.

You form the impression that the state structures have in practice lost their influence on the oil market. A week ago, when the temperature was 25 degrees below zero, and "Arkhenergo," in an attempt to save fuel, was obliged yet again to shut off supplies, oblast administration head Pavel Balakshin asked Oleg Soskovets for help. The latter put an official stamp on the governor's petition: "Rosneft" General Director Putilov must find a possibility for supplying fuel.... But when the Arkhangelsk power workers turned to "Rosneft" Mr. Putilov stated that the vice premier's official stamp was not a guideline for action for him.

Today nothing is more important than fuel oil for the White Sea coast dwellers. The oblast leadership is engaged in getting it. Local newspapers and television are keeping track of literally every fuel oil tank moving along the railroad toward Arkhangelsk. And the inhabitants of the oblast center and of Severodvinsk are listening anxiously to the weather forecast of harder frost.

Mayor Blames Fuel Crisis on Energy Ministry

LD1611000094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2020 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Moscow Mayor's Office is wont to believe that the "petrol crisis" in Moscow emerged as a result of several errors in controlling fuel supply of the Moscow region, committed by the Russian Fuel and Energy Ministry, an official of the Mayor's Office told the Petroleum Information Agency today.

The same source said the Fuel and Energy Ministry lacked a coordinating body which could exercise control over supplying Moscow with petrol.

Petrol delivery to the Moscow Region directly depends on proper performance of the Moscow Oil Processing Plant. 220,000 tonnes of crude oil is required. Now the resources of crude oil at the plant are only 47,000 tonnes. The Fuel and Energy Ministry is perfectly aware of the situation at the plant but it did not take any appropriate measures for overcoming the problem, the same source said.

Experts of the Moscow Mayor's Office said Moscow and the Moscow region daily require 9500 tonnes of petrol. The Moscow Oil Processing Plant is daily producing no more than 7000 tonnes of oil. The missing 2500 tonnes of oil ought to be delivered from other Russian regions. The Moscow Mayor's Office said, however, that the Fuel and Energy Ministry failed to resolve the issue of petrol delivery in a timely fashion.

The Moscow Mayor's Office said that another reason for the petrol crisis was the unfavorable situation on the Moscow market of oil products which appeared as a result of mutual debts, the lack of money for paying in advance and the lack of control over pricing.

Ivanovo Oil Spill Prevented from Entering Rivers

LD1611100094 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A spillage of approximately 200 tonnes of fuel oil was discovered yesterday near Ivanovo.

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According to our correspondent, Oleg Abalkin, the accident happened when railway tanker trucks were being unloaded. Some of the fuel seeped into the sewage network. However, our correspondent was assured by the oblast committee for ecology and natural resources that the spillage had been localized and that seepage of the fuel oil into rivers prevented.

Coal Miners Trade Union Leader Interviewed

MM1611101994 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Nov 94 p 1

[Interview with Vitaliy Budko, chairman of the Russian Coal Miners Trade Union Committee, by Viktor Ukolov; date and place of interview not stated: "Give Us the Billions We Have Earned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the end of last week 15 of the 17 mines in the Moscow basin went on strike, involving about 25,000 people. It is a long time since there was such a powerful social eruption in the region. What caused it?

Vitaliy Budko, chairman of the Russian Coal Miners Trade Union Committee, answers RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA's questions.

[Budko] The Moscow basin is the oldest in the country. The coal here has been and remains "black gold" for the industry of Ryazan, Volgograd, Smolensk, and other oblasts. The coal is high-ash, and is very waterlogged. It is enormously difficult to mine.

The coal miners trade union is engaged most of all now in "extorting" money for the miners' wages. Under threat of an all-Russian protest action by the miners, the Russian Federation Government has given an assurance that it will repay its debts and so far it is keeping its word—it is observing the financing schedule. But the budget meets only half the wages, the other half comes from consumers. And they are not paying.

[Ukolov] Will the strike at "Tulaugol" resolve these problems?

[Budko] Experience of the struggle, which our trade union has, suggests that the strike must be a general one. An all-Russian strike or no strike at all. Otherwise you will not get a result. An example: The "Vorgashorskaya" mine in Vorkuta stood idle for two months—and did not receive a penny.

The trade union committees at enterprises must make work with consumers the priority in their activity.

[Ukolov] Well, you surprise me, Vitaliy Ivanovich! That is a duty for the administration.

[Budko] Did "extorting" from the government the money stipulated in the budget previously form part of a trade union's concerns? It is the duty of the sectorial management structures. But we at the Coal Miners Trade Union do not disdain to assume this duty. The mine trade union committees have the same right to "pressurize" unconscientious clients. Perhaps by picketing the Ryazan Hydroelectric Power Station, which already owes over 40 billion rubles [R] for Moscow coal. Or conversely it should seek ways of reaching agreement.

This task is a topical one in the Urals, where consumers owe the miners R43 billion, and in Maritime Kray, where they ow R33 billion. The Borodino pit (Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex), where they do not receive a kopek in subsidy, is owed R165 billion! Throughout the sector as a whole the debts total R2 trillion. The government must find a solution which would untangle this knot. Especially as the coal enterprises in Russia are 99 percent state-owned.

In practice we are being pushed toward halting the dispatch of coal to power stations and boiler houses and the metallurgical and chemical industries. Yes, miners can "bring everyone to their knees," but it is our fellow citizens who will suffer. The miners understand that. It is a good thing that the authorities are at last also beginning to understand us.

Miners' Union in Vorkuta Demands Government Resignation

LD1511212094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2023 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vorkuta, the Komi Republic, 15 Nov (TASS)—A rally of the Vorkuta Independent Miners' Trade Union demanded here today resignation of the federal government and early presidential elections. The rally was attended by representatives of all Vorkuta mines and mining facilities and several public organizations.

Boris Yeltsin "is not the guarantee of constitutional rights of Russian citizens, and the government and other power structures systematically postpone fulfilment of resolutions and agreements signed by the government and trade unions," says a resolution of the rally. The miners demanded payment of the salary debt. So far the government has paid only the August salary.

The rally demanded that the State Duma listen to a government report on fulfilment of its resolution on the Pechora coal basin, and culprits in the resolution's non-fulfilment resign. They called on all Russian working people and trade unions to pull their efforts in the struggle for their rights and interests and support the demands, including those political, of the Vorkuta miners.

These demands will be submitted to the third congress of the Russian Independent Miners' Trade Union scheduled for November 1 through 5 in Chelyabinsk.

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St. Petersburg To Launch Non-State 'TV-3' Network

LD1611113594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Rumyantsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] St. Petersburg November 16 TASS—The second biggest Russian city is going to launch a new non-state tv channel beginning from next year which will cover the European part of Russia and some neighbouring countries. The first broadcast is to be aired on December 31, organisers said Wednesday [16 November].

The new non-state "TV-3" network was set up by officials from the state-run Petersburg television, the mayor's office, the local radio and tv centre and by the British private "International Network Television" [as received] company.

"The TV-3 channel will be conservative, reliable and devoid of politics", Viktor Pravdyuk, a member of the governing board of the network, told TASS.

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International Affairs

Udovenko on Kuchma U.S. Visit, U.S. Elections

LD1511150194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko held a news conference on 15 November at the foreign ministry on the Ukrainian president's forthcoming visit to the United States. Udovenko said that during this first state visit to the United States by a Ukrainian president, due to begin on 19 November, Leonid Kuchma will address the United Nations in New York and will meet with the chairman of the UN Security Council, the chairman of the UN General Assembly session, representatives of business and political circles, the Ukrainian community, and representatives of the U.S. Jewish community.

According to the foreign minister, the Ukrainian side has prepared 36 draft presidential speeches. The official part of the visit will be held on 22-23 November. The Ukrainian head of state will meet with U.S. President William Clinton, Vice President Albert Gore, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, and other leading officials.

It is planned that the presidents will sign a charter on partnership, friendship, and cooperation, a joint statement by U.S. and Ukrainian presidents, an agreement on cooperation in the research and peaceful use of outer space, and a joint statement on the strengthening of cooperation to combat crime. An agreement will be signed on financial aid to Ukraine to cover the balance of payments deficit and a memorandum on cooperation between the U.S. Department of Commerce and Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

"There are currently 15 documents in preparation at various levels," Ukraine's foreign minister said.

Hennadiy Udovenko noted that the Republicans' victory in the congressional elections will entail some adjustments to U.S. foreign policy. "We will hope that this does not affect Ukrainian-U.S. relations," he said.

The Ukrainian foreign minister said that the U.S. meetings will put special emphasis on the subject of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and Leonid Kuchma's proposed program of economic reforms. "Ukraine's economic reform needs not only technical assistance, but also fundamental financial aid," the minister said.

Foreign Ambassadors Announce New Aid Package

LD1511162594 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev—[Passage omitted] President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma on 15 November met with ambassadors of the European countries, Canada, Japan and the United States. The purpose of the meeting, according to Kuchma, was to establish what the European countries' requirements will be after Ukraine's accession to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

The ambassadors circulated a joint statement saying, in particular, that "the governments and the European Union are ready to announce a new aid package including that which was granted during the past year." According to the statement, Ukraine will receive new aid via bilateral channels and through the EEC in excess of $234,386,000, apart from the $500 million already granted by the G-7 and the EEC for housing construction and Chernobyl programs.

The new aid will be channeled into "defense industry conversion, retraining and relocation of servicemen, purification of the environment, development of alternative sources of energy, improvement of nuclear reactors' safety standards and nuclear non-proliferation projects including assistance to nuclear safety and missile dismantling."

Russia Ends Supply of Nuclear Fuel

LD1511192494 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia has stopped supplying nuclear fuel for Ukrainian atomic power stations, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has announced. According to him, Moscow does not intend to resume the supplies until Ukraine joins the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. We recall that Ukrainian deputies are to discuss the issue of ratifying the treaty tomorrow.

Delivery Tied To NPT

LD1511221594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russia stopped delivering fuel for Ukrainian nuclear power stations in exchange for nuclear warheads and may only renew the delivery after Ukraine joins the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told the Council of Regions in Kiev today.

Kuchma said Russia had sent a notification to this effect to the Ukrainian State Committee on Nuclear Energy.

Russia delivers to Ukraine heat-releasing elements for nuclear power stations under the January trilateral statement of the Ukrainian, Russian and US presidents on nuclear disarmament.

National Affairs

Commissions Recommend NPT Ratification

LD1511193194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no dateline as received]—Ukraine's Supreme Council Commission for Issues of Defense and State Security, the Commission for Foreign

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Affairs and Relations with the CIS, and the Commission for Issues of Nuclear Policy and Nuclear Safety, at their joint session today approved a decision by the majority of votes to recommend parliament to accede to the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] and submit this issue for the consideration of the Supreme Council on 16 November. One of the participants in the session, who wished to remain incognito because a decision was made to refrain from comments to the press, told this to UNIAN.

Ukraine's Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko and Dmytro Tabachnyk, chairman of the president's administration, also took part in the session.

According to Yevhen Marmazov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Foreign Affairs and Relations with the CIS, the commission is to consider this issue again on 16 November at 0830. At 0900 it will be considered by the parliamentary group of communists.

Oleh Vitovych, a member of the Supreme Council Commission for Issues of Human Rights, National Minorities, and Interethnic relations, told UNIAN that the commission will discuss the issue on Ukraine's accession to the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty "from a different, international, and legal aspect." In his opinion, the commission will come out against Ukraine's accession to the treaty.

SDPU 'Stronger' After Congress Closes

LD1511160394 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 14 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Poltava—The seventh extraordinary congress of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine [SDPU], attended by representatives of 12 of the 15 regional organizations, ended work on 13 November.

The congress took note of the decision by the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine of 11 November 1994 to expel six of its leaders and activists, including Yuriy Zbitnyev, former chairman of the SDPU council for repeated gross violations of the party rules. Yuriy Buzduhan, member of the presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine and chairman of the commission for issues of social policy and labor, has been elected chairman of the SDPU council. Yuriy Bauman has been appointed head of the administration board.

The congress decided to launch a broad party discussion of issues concerning party structure. An editorial commission was set up to further improve the party rules. From now on, the chairman of the SDPU council will be elected by congress to be the party's top official. The council itself will consist of representatives of regional organizations only.

The congress passed a resolution in which the SDPU "welcomes the proclamation of the course toward economic reforms but considers the methods of carrying out the reforms at the expense of the working people alone as unacceptable". The SDPU believes the objective of its activities is "to represent and protect the hired and self-employed workers and directly counteract state authorities at all levels if their interests are ignored". Also, the resolution approves of the social policy concept proposed by Yuriy Buzduhan.

The congress charged the parliamentary club of the SDPU, social democratic deputies at all levels "in interaction with other constructive forces, to put into effect the system of social legislation called to protect the majority of Ukraine's population against the rapacity of the 'old' and 'new' nomenklatura."

The congress adopted statements "On attitude to the strike movement" and "On lockouts" declaring "solidarity with the just strike activity of railwaymen, miners and other working people of Ukraine" and expressing a resolute protest against the dismissal of working collectives in their full composition as a means of struggle against strikes. Also, the congress adopted a statement "On the promotion of entrepreneurship in Ukraine."

"I am very much satisfied with the course and the outcome of the seventh extraordinary congress," Yuriy Buzduhan told UNIAN right after it finished its work. "The party's tasks were considered within the context of the current developments in Ukraine. After the congress SDPU became much stronger and more consolidated."

Pynzenyk on Regional Failures To Free Prices

LD1511230194 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no dateline as received]—"Ukraine's budget is losing 300 billion karbovantsi daily because of a shortfall in the collection of value-added tax and excise duties as the result of the regions' failure to implement the government's decisions on the liberalization of prices," First Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk said in a report to a session by the Council of the Regions under the Ukrainian president. He estimated that every 10 days of procrastination resulted in an additional 15 percent rise in inflation.

"Five days after the resolution freeing prices was brought into effect, it was Donetsk Oblast alone that made the respective decision on bread prices, while none of the regions revised prices for meat and dairy products," Viktor Pynzenyk added.

As at 14 November, the issue of bread prices was not settled in Crimea, that of prices for meat and meat products in Crimea, Kirovograd, Nikolayev, and other oblasts, and 14 oblast executive committees and Sevastopol's city executive committee failed to make a decision on a change in municipal transport tariffs. "There is total communism in Kherson where transport is free of charge," Viktor Pynzenyk said.

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He concluded that, in those oblasts where no respective decisions were made, "conditions for profiteering and corruption today are wonderful."

Many oblasts, Viktor Pynzenyk pointed out, at the same time administratively set high prices in a manner characteristic of a monopoly: "The incomes of the businesses that are working well, are being redistributed in favor of those that are working poorly."

Viktor Pynzenyk proposed the dismissal of all officials that were to blame for nonperformance of the government's decisions, and to decline consideration of applications for support from the state budget by the regions that failed to implement the government's decisions fully in accordance with the resolution. He added that a decisive blow should be dealt on monopoly structures: "It is either they smash us or we them."

Viktor Yushchenko, chairman of the board of the National Bank of Ukraine [NBU], said the nonperformance of the government's resolution freeing prices by most of Ukraine's regions cost our state 23 trillion karbovantsi in 10 days.

He described as "the ailment" of most regional budgets their blocking the implementation of the state budget in cash terms [kasove vykonannya derzhavnoho byudzhetu]. He announced that a draft directive by the Ukrainian president was prepared, under which nobody would have the right to make decisions changing the order of implementing the state budget in cash terms. Otherwise, commercial banks would be made subject to fines equal to the amount of cash undersupplied to the budget. Under the respective NBU directive, regional commercial banks will only ensure the state budget allocation norms that were set by the Supreme Council.

As for the implementation of the state budget, the NBU chairman of the board said that, under the documents that were being drawn up, regional commercial banks would only pay wages to businesses after payment was made in full to the pensions and social security funds.

The conference decided to recommend that all state executive authorities should ensure the performance of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine resolutions liberalizing prices and raising pay, pensions, students' grants, and compensatory payments. It was decided that violating the orderly formation of prices and setting excessively high and economically unsubstantiated prices should be deemed impermissible, at the same time as supporting the steps to reform the economy, proposed by the Ukrainian president as the only possible way to end the economic crisis in Ukraine.

The conference's decisions will be presented to Ukraine's Supreme Council, for the council's stance to be taken into account in resolving issues of the Ukrainian economy's legislative regulation.

Summing up the conference and addressing chairmen of oblast councils, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma issued a warning that "their treatment in future will be harsher," while failure to perform the government's decisions will entail the dismissal of heads of executive authorities.

Military Officers Resign, Want Russian Pensions

MK1611102094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 16 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Ukrainian Counterintelligence Men Want To Go to Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to sources close to the Ukraine Navy staff, a disastrous situation has taken shape in the Security Service military counterintelligence department in Sevastopol. In recent months, 35 out of its 100 staffers have handed in requests to resign. An inflow of new personnel is not to be expected so far because the schools training such specialists are only starting to function in Ukraine. All who have handed in resignation requests are going to Russia to obtain citizenship and pensions in rubles.

Kuchma, Masol Comment on Miners' Pay Demands

MM1611110194 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 16 Nov 94 p 1

[Report by correspondent Georgiy Dorofeyev: "For First 21 November Shift"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Donetsk—In the beginning of the month a prestrike situation was announced in Donetsk Oblast. Mikhail Krylov, cochairman of the Donetsk strike committee and chairman of the oblast organization of independent trade unions of miners, stated that the miners are demanding that their real wages be set to at least 10 million karbovantsi and be paid on time.

It was with these demands that the miners' delegation set off for Kiev.

"The government has already done everything that can be done for the miners," President L. Kuchma said at a meeting with V. Shcherban, chairman of the Donetsk Oblast Council, and V. Ilyushenko, general director of the "Donetskugol" association.

This opinion was confirmed by Prime Minister V. Masol at a recent press conference in Kiev.

"We are not opposed to raising miners' wages," he said. "We are prepared to pay not 10 but 15-20 million karbovantsi. But it should not be a handout. The money should be earned."

At present miners rank 11th on the Ukrainian wages scale.

It was this that the miners spoke of with bitterness and anguish at a routine meeting in Donetsk in which representatives of all Ukraine's coal regions took part. There was one question to be decided: to strike or not to strike?

The participants in the conference called on everyone to join the strike which could begin with the first shift 21 November. But the miners did not abandon the question for compromise with the government.

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Belarus

Chyhir Signs Hard Currency Debt Payment Order

WS1611105394 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister of Belarus Mikhail Chyhir signed an order on paying off the debts of certain companies to foreign creditors. According to the document, at the expense of the hard currency reserves of the Ministry of Finance, the government will pay off the debts of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Barisaw plastic ware plant, totalling about 16 million German marks under a credit by Austfurkrediet-Geselschaft Gmbh, and 50 percent of the overdue payments under a Commission of the European Community credit which was used in 1992-93 for purchasing foodstuffs and medical supplies.

Trade Expansion To Russia Priority

LD1611125994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1230 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk November 16 TASS— Belarus intends to expand trade with the former Soviet republics and ex-member states of the COMECON, but will give priority to Russia, Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir said during a press conference. He noted that Belarus receives almost all fuel resources and an overwhelming part of raw products and materials from Russia.

Speaking of unification, the prime minister noted that these words, above all, are to be understood as "elimination of artificial barriers on the way to cooperation", repealing customs duties and signing of a joint declaration of convertability of currencies and other agrements. According to him, in that case sovereignty of the states is not infringed at all.

Touching on the situation of prices on foodstuffs and the presidential decree to harness it, Mikhail Chyhir emphasised that the state has incurred a loss of almost one hundred million roubles. He also assured that the president and the Cabinet of Ministers will take decisive measures to pull the economy out of the crisis, including through regulating the price formation. According to Chyhir, the presidential decree is a "tactical departure from reforms. It is justified, and it will be in force for a biref period". "Belarus will not reject the idea of free price formation," Mikhail Chyhir emphasised.

Yalowitz Presents Credentials, Notes 'Progress'

WS1611100894 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] People in the United States hope that the current moment will usher in a new era in bilateral relations, emphasized U.S. Ambassador to Belarus Kenneth Spencer Yalowitz during the ceremony of presenting credentials to Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka. Mr. Yalowitz pointed out that relations between Belarus and the United States have been developing steadily in recent years, and great progress in both political and economic cooperation has been observed.

In a response speech, Alyaksandr Lukashenka expressed his gratitude to the U.S. President and Government for their understanding and approval of the course of reform currently pursued by Belarus. He also requested that there be proper understanding that the volume of Belarusian relations with Russia in no way means that Belarus does not see talented politicians and economists in Western states. Belarus is open to positive cooperation with all states, pointed out the president.

Lukashenka Apologizes For 'Emotional' Speech

WS1611114694 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On November 15, President of Belarus Alyaksandr Lukashenka met with members of the Constitutional Court. In view of this 1.5-hour meeting, Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Tikhinya, held a press conference. According to him, at the meeting A. Lukashenka brought his apologies for his "too emotional" statements on the national television channel on 11 November. In their turn, the Constitutional Court recalled from the editorial offices of the national newspapers their statement in which they substantiated the lawfulness of their 9 November decision to suspend the validity of the well-known amendments to the self-government law. Nevertheless, the Court did not abolish their decision.

Mr. Tikhinya defined the proposal by the parliamentary committee for legislation to amend the law "On the Constitutional Court as "an attempt to bridle the 'overzealous Constitutional Court'". Valeriy Tikhinya pointed out that the Constitutional Court's decision of 9 November "aroused some high-ranked officials' irritation, but if such decision had not appeared, that could have led to irreversible consequences."

UDPB Notes Presidential 'Violations'

WS1611105794 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Central Council of the United Democratic Party of Belarus (UDPB) have made a statement in which they define President Alyaksandr Lukashenka's appearance on Belarusian Television on November 11 as "an attempt of encroachment upon the Constitution." In the opinion of UDPB, the president exerts pressure on the Constitutional Court and Supreme Soviet. Besides, the president ventures threatening statements directed at the national mass media, which is a violation of the rights to freedom of opinion and expression. "The president has headed for the establishment of censorship in the country,"

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the statement reads. The president's accusations directed at a number of state departments, parties, trade unions, and entrepreneurs are regarded in the statement as "an intention to shift off responsibility for the current state of things on a wide range of mythical enemies." The UDPB maintains that such statements may lead to public instability and confrontation, and express their resoluteness to uphold human rights in Belarus in spite of pressure and threats.

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Kazakhstan

Foreign Minister on Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan Situation

LD1511201294 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today Foreign Minister Kasymzhomart Tokayev met students of the international relations department of Kazakh State National University. [passage omitted]

The students had many questions, for example about the Eurasian Union and relations with China and the republics of Central Asia. Regarding the latter, the situation is as follows:

[Begin Tokayev recording] Uzbekistan plays an important role in Central Asia. This should be understood. It has a population of 22 million. And Uzbekistan has its own interests in Tajikistan. Despite reports in the press about the illegality of some election results, nevertheless, in my opinion, there are grounds for asserting that at last, Tajikistan has a president elected by the people. [end recording] [passage omitted]

International Human Rights Conference Begins

LD1611101294 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 0400 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The second international conference on human rights started work in Alma-Ata [Almaty] 15 November.

The topic for the conference is basic human rights and the system for protecting them by nongovernmental associations. It is a continuation of the discussions begun in spring on cooperation between the authorities and public organizations in a democratic society.

Legal and nonlegal protection of rights and the creation of a unified system of law-defending establishments were also discussed.

The program will encompass protection of the socially vulnerable sections of our population and filling the information gap in the sphere of education on human rights.

The conference is continuing its work.

Supreme Council Appoints Head of Production Committee

LD1611101194 Almaty Kazakhstan Television Network in Kazakh 0700 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Under a resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Ashimzhan Suleymen-uly Akhmetov has been appointed chairman of the Supreme Council Committee on Production, Power, Transport, and Communications.

Oil Enterprise Fined for Poor Waste Disposal

LD1611102494 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0400 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Seeping oil products have turned the land around the Uztomen Munaygazmash [oil and gas machinery] joint stock company into oily sand. It seems that the enterprise's workers are collecting this mixture and dumping it anywhere they choose.

The harm done to the environment has been calculated, and in view of this, the enterprise's management was fined 25,000 tenge.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Airs Views on Current Political Issues

LD1511213794 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2104 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov and KYRGYZKABAR special correspondent Irina Balakina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva November 15 TASS—President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan praised an important role played by the Commonwealth of Independent States as a factor of peace and security at a news conference at the United Nations headquarters on Tuesday [15 November], at the end of his visit to Switzerland.

"(The commonwealth) is important for us because it contributes to peace, stability and security in the region, and, consequently, to (our) going ahead with the reforms," Akayev emphasized.

On the other hand, he admitted that at present the CIS "was undergoing a difficult moment full of trials." He regretted the fact that "many good decisions do not take effect."

According to Akayev, the success of democratic reforms in Kyrgyzstan is "more related to world community's support." Thus, thanks to efforts on the part of International Monetary Fund, World Bank and other international financial structures, including the credits given, Kyrgyzstan's national currency (som) grew stronger; new promising outlooks came into view for dynamic development of agriculture, small and medium-sized businesses and other sectors.

According to Akayev, political instability in Tajikistan "is a factor which may destabilize situation in Kyrgyzstan." In this connection, Akayev was "far from being overly optimistic" as to the likelihood that the new Tajik authorities who came to power at recent presidential elections would succeed in bringing over peace to the country.

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Inasmuch as "problems of Tajikistan and Afghanistan are intertwined in a single knot, they must be settled jointly under the auspices of the United Nations," he said.

It seems that the commonwealth's forces alone will not suffice for solving the problem, he said. Akayev pinned "great hopes" on Switzerland's intermediary mission in establishing a dialogue between warring parties in Afghanistan.

Touching on interethnic relations in Kyrgyzstan itself, Akayev said that the republic's leadership pays close attention to the issue and tries to stop the exodus of Russian-speaking population.

The Kyrgyz-Russian University was set up in Bishkek. It became a centre for Slavonic studies in the Asian region of the commonwealth. Granting the status of an official language to the Russian language is at issue. Purposeful efforts are being taken to ensure a just representation of ethnic groups in the new bicameral parliament.

Tajikistan

Emomali Rakhmanov Takes Presidential Oath

LD1611071894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0640 GMT 16 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, November 16 TASS—The new Tajik president, Emomali Rakhmanov, was inaugurated on Wednesday [16 November] at a session of the republican parliament. He won the presidential polls on 6 November by defeating his only opponent Abdumalik Abdulladjanov, the Tajik ambassador in Russia.

The new president told TASS that he would do his utmost to restore peace in Tajikistan and ensure the economic revival of the country. He also experessed hope for cooperation with all political opponents in the framework of the Tajik Constituition and laws.

"As the president I swear to defend the Constitution and the laws ot the Republic, to guarantee the rights and freedoms, the honour and dignity of citizens, to protect the terriotoral intergity, the political, enconmic and cultural indepencdence to Tajikistan, to faithfully serve the people," Rakhmanov said while taking the oath on the new Constitution of Tajikistan.

TDP Recognizes Election Results as Valid

LD1511213894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2103 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran November 15 TASS—Tajikistan's Democratic Party (TDP) recognised results of the Republic's presidential election as valid in a statement it circulated today in Tehran.

The statement says the TDP "remembering its historical responsibility to the people of Tajikistan and willing to prevent a further civil war and suffering of Tajiks, recognises and supports the election of Emomali Rakhmanov as president of the Republic."

The recognition is made conditional, one of demands being Tajikistan's respect for "internationally recognised human rights." the TDP also demands that the Tajik Government formally recognises the party as "one of leading political forces" and disarms conflicting groups for political stability and safe refugee return. The statement, signed by the party's chairman Shodmon Yusuf, stresses that the TDP sees the prospect of ending the Tajik crisis in one's willingness to "accept a compromise and to forgive..."

ITAR-TASS was told by sources in the TDP that trial of three TDP members on charges of illegal crossing of the Iranian border was over in Tehran today. The Islamic revolutionary tribunal sentenced them to six months in prison.

Proceedings are also in progress against TDP Chairman Shodmon Yusuf, who has long been staying in Tehran and forbidden to leave Iran.

The TDP broke its long-standing alliance with the Islamic Movement for Renaissance of Tajikistan in September this year, and Yusuf announced desire to return to Tajikistan.

The TDP has not participated in the latest Islamabad round of Tajik talks which resulted in a resolution on three-month extension of a cease-fire in Tajikistan.

Election Returns Could Trigger Another Power Struggle

LD1511205994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The presidential elections in Tajikistan on 6 November, won by Parliamentary Chairman Emomali Rakhmanov, may trigger off another struggle for power in the Republic, a source in the Tajik leadership, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, told Interfax Tuesday [15 November].

The leaders of the armed opposition, based in neighboring Afghanistan, refused to take part in the elections and repeatedly stated they did not recognize the election returns, he pointed out.

According to the source, the opposition will use the temporary cease-fire agreement to prepare for a new military campaign and resume hostilities in the spring. At present, combat is virtually impossible due to winter conditions and blocked passes.

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Supporters of the former prime minister, now Tajik Ambassador to Russia Abdumalik Abdullajanov, also refuse to accept his loss at the elections. They maintain the election returns were falsified in favor of Rakhmanov, the source said.

The Interfax interviewee believes that Abdullajanov's supporters will not openly confront the president. Instead, they will obstruct all his initiatives. Nor did he rule out that they wouldn't unite with the armed opposition to fight together against Rakhmanov.

Under the present conditions of a production decline and impoverishment of the people, who have not received their wages for 10-11 months, the Tajiks may well support the opposition "hoping it will improve the state of the country's economy." This could be avoided only if the current government lifted Tajikistan out of the economic crisis, otherwise a civil war may resume.

Despite Rakhmanov's statements that he will be guided by candidates' moral and professional qualities rather than place of origin in making government appointments, it will be a difficult business in as regional interests are paramount in present-day Tajikistan, he added.

Today, nine out of 30 top leaders come from the south of the Republic, six of them having been appointed by Rakhmanov to the most influential government posts. If representatives of other regions are not introduced in the government, it will provoke unrest. At the same time, despite this, Southerners will not want to give up their positions, the source said.

Russian Guards Repel Afghan Border Attacks

LD1611104894 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0952 GMT 16 Nov 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is still uneasy. On Tuesday [15 November] evening, two groups of militants of the Tajik opposition attacked posts of the 11th Moscow Border Guards detachment. The Border Guards repelled the attack.

Also on Tuesday, Russian Border Guards prevented an attempt by five militants to break through to Tajikistan from Afghanistan in the section controlled by the Ishkashimskiy Border Guards detachment. No casualties were inflicted on the Russian Border Guards.

Iranian Envoy on Prisoner Exchange, Peace Talks

LD1511143594 Tehran IRNA in English 1340 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe, Nov. 15, IRNA—Iran's Ambassador to Tajikistan 'Ali Ashraf Mojtahed-Shabestari on Monday termed the exchange of prisoners between the Tajik Government and opposition as 'helpful' in preserving the outcome of Tajikistan peace talks held in Tehran and Islamabad.

Shabestari told correspondents that the swapping of Tajik political prisoners and government forces held captive was a positive stride towards preserving cease-fire and solving the crisis of Tajikistan.

The Iranian ambassador was the only foreign observer who supervised the exchange of prisoners at the invitation of the U.N. envoy and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

He said the mediation efforts of the Islamic Republic to solve the Tajik problem was indicative of its willingness to establish peace and stability in Tajikistan with which it shares a common language and religion.

Over the past eight days, the Iranian ambassador and the ICRC representatives, in addition to making a trip to Afghanistan to hold talks with Tajik opposition groups, managed to overcome various obstacles created by the Tajik Government in the way of prisoners swap.

With prisoners being exchanged, a cease-fire already in force between the belligerent parties was automatically extended for another three months.

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Armenia

President Decrees Emergency Parliamentary Session

LD1511170894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1535 GMT 15 Nov 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Levon Ter-Petrosyan passed the decree on Tuesday [15 November] on holding an emergency parliamentary session on 17 November.

Observers in Yerevan believe that the session was necessitated by the need to amend Armenia's economic laws, given the beginning of the implementation of a new economic program on 1 December. The program provides for price liberalization, and measures to deal with the budget deficit, combat inflation and boost industrial production.

The implementation of a program for radical economic reforms was one of the terms advanced by the International Monetary Fund for extending credits to Armenia. The first part of the credit (about $50 million) is expected to be extended in the middle of December. Another $50 million is to arrive in 1995.

According to sources in the Armenian government, Yerevan hopes to receive $250-300 million long-term and soft credits next year from various international financial organizations and donor-countries.

As we reported earlier, prices on bread and electricity are to be raised considerably in Armenia on 1 December. At the beginning of 1995, prices will be freed completely, on which the IMF insists.

Meanwhile, the opposition parties are sharply criticizing Ter-Petrosyan's policies, as a result of which "the absolute majority of citizens are becoming poor," while "the national wealth is being plundered and apropriated by the ruling grouping."

The president's former national security advisor Ashot Manucharian called for holding a national strike on 18 November during a recent meeting in Yerevan. "The current leadership must resign because it has tapped the credit of national trust," he said.

The Armenian opposition, which has established the Union of Civic Concord, is campaigning for the resignation of the current leaders and the formation of a coalition government of national concord.

Kurds in 'Solidarity' With PKK Against Turkey

MM1611103294 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 94 p 3

[Report by Sergey Bablumyan: "Armenian Kurds Prepared To Fight for a Place in the Turkish Sun"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yerevan—Several "Kalashnikov" assault rifles, 10 or 20 grenades and mines, and also a small consignment of military kit are scarcely capable of significantly strengthening the military might of the armed formations of the Kurdish Workers' Party [PKK]. However, such an arsenal might slightly damage Armenian-Turkish relations, which are not particularly cordial anyway. After all, it was planned to transport all this contraband from Armenian territory to Turkey.

However, the attempt was not successful. In May of this year, the Armenian special services detained the smugglers and confiscated their deadly cargo. Seven Kurds and three Armenians—the direct perpetrators of this action—were taken to court. Theoretically, this would be nothing special if it were not for the fact that people are trying to lend a political hue to the trial being held in Yerevan.

The accused declared a hunger strike, demanding that the authorities view the smuggling action as a strictly patriotic measure unifying two peoples in the fight against a common enemy.

Azad Polad, a representative of the Kurdish Liberation Movement, who had arrived for the trial, also stated this in Yerevan. Meanwhile, Armenia does not intend to get involved in the Kurds' conflict with Turkey, and it is scarcely prepared to take Mr. Polad's appeals seriously, such as, "Let us pool our efforts to liberate the land from our common enemy, and then decide what to do with it later."

Today it is not hard to discover the direct relationship between the trial being held in Yerevan and the fact that the approximately 50,000-strong Kurdish community in Armenia has started to openly display dissatisfaction at its position for the first time in decades. It is notably a question of the reduction in the length of radio broadcasts in the Kurdish language, difficulties in publishing school textbooks, and the lack of ethnic representation in the Armenian parliament.

Insisting that the solidarity of the Kurdish community in Armenia with the Kurdish Workers' Party is displayed exclusively in the form of moral support and pure propaganda actions, the community leaders nevertheless do not deny that individual volunteers from among the young people are free to join the ranks of the Kurdish Workers' Party and take part in hostilities against the Turkish army. That is what Dzhavoe Avdal, an inhabitant of Aragatskiy Rayon in Armenia, did, for example. He was killed in Kurdistan in 1992, and his photograph hangs on a stand at the editorial office of the Kurdish newspaper, side by side with the portrait of Abdullah Ocalan, general secretary of the Kurdish Workers' Party.

Azerbaijan

Gasanov Receives Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister

NC1511173194 Baku TURAN in English 1506 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (November 15) TURAN—Today Azerbaijan's Foreign Minister, Gasan

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Gasanov, received Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mahmud Va'ezi. They discussed the issues of bilateral economic cooperation.

Speaking about the status of the Caspian sea, Mahmud Va'ezi mentioned that this issue must be settled during the talks among the parties concerned. He also said that one must take into account provisions of the treaty on Caspian sea signed between the USSR and Iran in 1940. Mahmud Va'ezi also mentioned that all coastal states must observe 10-mile-economic zone.

Gasan Gasanov said that the treaty from 1940 does not touch upon mineral resources of Caspian offshore. He mentioned that oil in the Azeri section of Caspian sea has been developed after 1940's. "In this issues of fishing and navigation cooperation is possible while mineral resources on Azeri section of Caspian offshore belong only to Azerbaijan. This is an official stand of Baku", Gasan Gasanov said. At the same time he said that Azerbaijan is ready to cooperate with another states in the field of development of its mineral resources.

Gasan Gasanov said that "several states try to use force and exert pressure on Azerbaijan but despite all attempts, Azerbaijan will uphold its right".

There have been heating debates around Astara-Gasangulu border, which in the Soviet period divided Caspian sea on Soviet and Iranian zone. Dr. Va'ezi said he knows nothing about this border line. Gasan Gasanov said that this border line existed more than 50 years and was always marked on the maps. He said that by the treaty of 1940, Iranian zone has been defined and the acknowledgement of existence of economic sections on the Caspian sea is the problem for newly independent states.

Then the meeting was held behind the closed doors.

Accuses U.S. of Arming Armenia

NC1511194294 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1615 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The correspondent of the Turkish newspaper ZAMAN has met Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov in Baku. The latter expressed his concern in connection with the military agreement signed between the Armenian president and the Pentagon, asserting that no NATO country has the right to sign such an agreement with any CIS country. Gasanov said that the United States is arming Armenia. Hence, the Armenians are delaying the peace talks to gain time. Gasanov then stated that the cease-fire will continue until Armenia violates it, because only a state that considers itself strong would violate a cease-fire.

Guliyev Receives Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister

NC1511162594 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1300 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Chairman of Supreme Soviet Rasul Guliyev received the Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi today. Our correspondent Gulsefa Ahmedova reports:

[Begin Ahmedova recording] The state of relations between the two countries and their future course were discussed during the meeting. Rasul Guliyev believes that the current visit to our republic by a high-ranking Iranian Foreign Ministry delegation will have a positive effect on these relations.

In briefing Guliyev on the upcoming visit to Azerbaijan by Nateq-Nuri, speaker of the Iranian Assembly, Va'ezi stated that the delegation accompanying him to Baku is taking part in preparing documents on practical aspects of mutual cooperation between Azerbaijan and Iran. The guest said that experts have began working on these documents at the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry. Va'ezi said that efforts on cooperation will continue during the joint working committees. We hope that concrete agreements and protocols will be signed once issues relating to trade, transportation, cargo transportation, customs, industry, and culture are worked out by the these committees. [end recording]

Caspian Sea Oil Exploitation Deal Ratified

LD1511125194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1114 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevinadzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 15 Nov—Azerbaijan's National Assembly today ratified a contract on joint exploitation of three oil deposits in the Caspian Sea shelf that was signed on 20 September by the Republic's state oil company and an international consortium. A decision on this was passed by an overwhelming majority of votes after almost six weeks of debate in the assembly.

National Assembly Speaker Rasul Guliyev called this an historic event and said that the implementation of the oil contract will have a real impact on the development of branches of the economy—first and foremost oil production, oil refining, the gasoline industry, machine building and electronics. Rasul Guliyev said that the flow of foreign capital into Azerbaijan as soon as this "deal of the century" starts to be implemented will allow speedier reform of the economy and soften the transition to market economy.

The parliamentary speaker said that part of the profit made by Azerbaijan, about $34 billion, will be used to create "a strong social infrastructure" in the Republic.

On the eve of the contract's ratification, Iran's national oil company joined the deal. It will receive five percent of Azerbaijan's share.

There are nine foreign companies in the international consortium, including Russia's Lukoil. Over the 30-year period envisaged by the contract, they will extract over half-a-billion tonnes of oil from great depths and invest $7.4 billion in the project. Exploitation of the oil deposit will be at full capacity within 48 months. The route for

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the export pipeline is still not decided and the pipeline has yet to be laid, for which 54 months have been allocated.

National Assembly Chairman Comments

LD1511195394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1811 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku November 15 TASS—Azeri parliament chairman Rasul Guliyev described today's ratification of the contract for development a Caspian Shelf oil deposit, which Azerbaijan had made with an international consortium, as "an event of crucial importance for the country's economy."

Speaking to a news conference on the contract ratification, Guliyev stressed that implementation of the contract would lead Azerbaijan out of crisis and would attract extensive foreign investment required by Azerbaijan to reform its basic industries.

Renovation of Azeri refineries and petrochemical productions requires 200 million U.S. dollars, Guliyev said. Speaking about an Iranian national oil company which joined the contract at a "finishing stage" to get 5 percent of Azerbaijan's share, the parliament chairman said it was "economically beneficial for the Republic." As concerns the prospect of the Iranian company's admission to the international consortium, Guliyev said "it is up to the consortium to decide," adding that the Western companies had not made objections so far. Azerbaijan would support the company's membership, Guliyev said.

Asked about a route of the future export oil pipeline, Guliyev said four options were being considered. The parliament chairman said he thought two were preferable: across Iran and Azerbaijan's enclave Nachichevan to Turkey or across Georgia to Novorossiysk and further across the Black Sea and to Turkey. The former option would bring crude oil to a refinery which is planned to be constructed in the Nachichevan enclave with Iran's assistance, the parliament chairman said. The latter route would require minimal investment, Guliyev, accepted as one of leading oil industry experts, said.

Speaking on economic reform in Azerbaijan, Guliyev stressed that a legislative basis was already made for it. A reform programme will be submitted to the parliament in December, to be launched as early as on 1 January 1995.

The parliament chairman said Azerbaijan saw Russia as a major economic partner with a great appeal of its market to Azerbaijan. "We must not lose the market," Guliyev said. The parliament chairman added that Azerbaijan was in turn ready to grant the most favourable trading status to Russian businesses.

Iran Given 5% Share in Oilfield Development

LD1411183994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1800 GMT 14 Nov 94

[By AZERTAC correspondent Alla Baula]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku November 14 TASS—Iran has joined Russia's Lukoil company and the Western oil consortium in the development of Caspian shelf oil fields in Azerbaijan. Initial agreements on the shelf development were signed in 1993 and on 20 September 1994.

From now on, Iran will take part in the development of "Azeri" and "Chyrag" oil fields and a deep-water part of the "Gyuneshli" oil field with a 5 per cent share. An agreement to this effect was signed during the recent Baku visit of Iran's Government delegation, headed by Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, Iran oil minister and also managing director of the country's national oil company.

Under the agreement, Azerbaijan shall transfer 5 per cent of its share to Iran in lieu of Iran's financial assistance in the development of the remaining part of the project.

The Iran side, in turn, undertook to allot funds to an oil tube construction in the Republic's Nakhichevan autonomy, build there an oil-processing plant with an annual processing capacity of 500,000 tonnes of oil, and a power supply system to provide the to-be business and autonomy with electricity.

Thus, Azerbaijani share reduced from 20 to 15 per cent. An initial agreement, the declaration on Caspian oil fields joint development, established the Republic's share in the project as 30 per cent. The declaration was signed at a London meeting of Azerbaijan's state oil company leadership with the consortium leaders on 12 June 1993. Later in 1993, the company transferred 10 per cent of its share to the Russian major Lukoil company.

The Iranian and Azerbaijani sides also signed a contract under which 1.5 million tonnes of Azerbaijani oil products will be supplied to Iran in 1995.

Under another contract, worth $14 million, Azerbaijani oilmen will prospect the Iranian part of the Caspian shelf. This will include boring a prospect hole in this area. Probably, an Iranian-Russian-Azerbajiani joint venture will be established to prospect and develop oil fields in the Caspian Sea.

Georgia

'Sharp' Energy Crisis Reported in Republic

NC1511180194 Yerevan SNARK in English 1338 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, November (SNARK)—In connection with sharp energy crisis in Georgia, Azerbaijan started to provide this Republic with its own

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energy. Murman Lomtatidze, head of directorate on energy distribution of "Gruzenergo" Department informed about it SNARK today. According to him, this enabled to link up the power stations "Khrami-2", "Zhinval," "Za," and "Ortachal" situated near the zone of Georgian capital.

Meanwhile, on 14 November, unexpectedly the whole energy system of Georgia was cut. Lomtatidze informed, that this occurred at the moment of planned exploitation of 500-kilovolt substation cn "Inguri" hydroelectric power station last Monday. In connection with the accident the heads of city and regional administrations are ordered to realize the energy distribution strictly out of the potentialities of a concrete region.

Power Failures Cause Price Increases

LD1511190594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Inguri Hydraulic Power Station and the Tbilisi station have both experienced failures which have virtually cut off all energy supplies in Georgia.

Government sources told Interfax that the energy obtained from Azerbaijan is not sufficient even for essential services. For this reason the baking of bread in Tbilisi has been cut back by 30 percent. As a result, black market prices for bread have soared.

Turkey's Demirel Calls For Georgian Oil Pipeline

AU1511163794 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 15 Nov 94

[By Chris Bird]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, Nov 15 (AFP)—Turkish President Suleyman Demirel arrived here Tuesday on a 24-hour visit and called for a proposed pipeline carrying Caspian Sea crude oil to run to the West via Georgia rather than Russia.

Demirel was given a red-carpet welcome at Tbilisi airport by Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze on his first visit as president to the Black Sea republic. Demirel announced a second $50-million credit for Georgia and promised the fuel-starved republic electricity.

But the high-stakes oil issue was expected to dominate talks during Demirel's one-day visit.

"We would be very happy to see the pipeline (routed) through Georgia," Demirel told correspondents.

The pipeline carrying Azerbaijani and Central Asian oil would run through Georgia then to the Mediterranean via Turkey, under the Turkish plan.

Turkey faces strong competition from Russia over the route of the proposed pipeline exporting Azerbaijani crude from offshore fields in the Caspian Sea to Western markets.

Russia, faced by the loss of control over the former Soviet republics, recently reiterated its intention to have the pipeline go through its own territory, with oil being shipped to Bulgaria and piped to the Mediterranean through Greece.

A consortium of western oil companies planning to invest billions of dollars in the oilfields is anxiously watching the struggle, the outcome of which promises the winner considerable financial and political influence in the region.

Recent Russian military manoeuvres carried out on Georgian territory near the Turkish border soured relations further between the two major rivals in the Transcaucasus.

To add pressure for a line running through Turkey, Istanbul recently restricted access to heavy oil tankers through the Bosphorus on environmental grounds.

A senior official with Demirel said the Georgia-Turkey route would cost half a billion dollars less than the Russian version.

U.S. oil companies are unwilling to send the oil through anti-Western Iran or through Armenian territory, closed off due to the six-year war between Azerbaijan and Armenia over the territory of Nagorno Karabakh.

This leaves Georgia as a vital link in the Turkish plan.

The benefits would be mutual, said Alexander Rondeli, head of international relations at Tbilisi State University. "If Turkey supports us and the pipeline went through our country it would be a great gift for Georgia," he said.

Relations between the two countries are warm, with Turkey providing significant aid and trade. But Georgia would like to see Turkey take a stronger stance on regional political issues.

For example, the Turkish-founded Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization should help resolve some of the region's armed conflicts, in addition to addressing economic development, Shevardnadze has said.

Another sticking point is Georgia's reluctance to see the return of some 208,000 Mskhetian Turks who lived on Georgia's mountainous border with Turkey but were deported en masse by Stalin to Central Asia.

The 50th anniversary of the deportations came Tuesday (eds: correct).

Eduard Abasov, head of the Mskhetian Salvation organisation, said Georgia is violating the ethnic group's human rights by doing nothing to help it return.

Discusses Pipeline With Shevardnadze

LD1511205394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1831 GMT 15 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkey regards Georgia as the most convenient route for the oil pipeline from the Caspian sea, Turkish president Suleyman Demirel said at today's news conference.

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Demirel arrived on a 24-hour visit to Tbilisi to meet head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze. The routing of the pipeline through Georgia was the main subject of their long one-to-one conversation. If Tbilisi agrees, Turkey promises to give Georgia an additional $50 million (an earlier $50 million was already allocated) before the end of this year.

In the course of the current visit of President Demirel, Turkey hopes to decide on how it can receive the Caspian oil to which it will be entitled as a bonus for taking part in the major international project aiming to develop three oil deposits in Azerbaijan. Turkey has a 1.75 percent stake in the deal, Iran and Azerbaijan have 5 percent each, while Russia gets 10 percent. The remaining share will be distributed between European and U.S. companies.

One possible route for Turkish oil is through the port of Novorossiys and the Bosphorus strait. That would be advantageous for Russia but rather expensive for Turkey (according to some estimates it will be $500 million more expensive compared with the Georgian route)

Another route is through Armenia, which is geographically more logical but politically less realistic because of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. The third option, Iranian of routing the oil, is out of the question because of the United States' anti-Iranian sentiments. So, what is left is Georgia.

"I will be happy if the pipeline is laid through Georgia," Suleyman Demirel said at a news conference in Tbilisi. "We will discuss the question with Eduard Shevardnadze."

Taking into account Georgia's weakened economy and Turkey's promises to "help" with fuel and money, one can surmise that Tbilisi will treat the Turkish proposal benevolently.

URPG Condemns Shevardnadze's Pro-Russia Policy

AU1611115894 Tbilisi SAKARTVELO in Georgian 3-8 Nov 94 p 8

["Statement" issued by the United Republican Party of Georgia, the "Republicans" parliamentary faction; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] As a result of documents signed by the Georgian head of state and his personal representatives during the last few months, which, in our view, run counter to Georgia's interests and given that such documents are continuing to be signed, which is relentlessly aggravating the consequences of military and diplomatic failures suffered by Georgia up to now, we consider it necessary to state the following before all countries that have relations with the Republic of Georgia, the Georgian nation, and Parliament: On 28 October 1990, free multiparty elections to the Republic's highest legislative body were held. As a result of the elections, the government that was formed was our country's first legitimate government since the occupation, annexation, and forceful Sovietization of Georgia by Bolshevik Russia in February 1921. The aims declared by the national government were the guarantee of Georgia's real independence and its territorial integrity and the creation of a democratic state.

In December 1991, Georgia's legitimate government was replaced by means of a military coup and a provisional government was formed that, in its own official documents and political statements, did not change the basic slogans and points contained in the program of the previous government, namely, the recognition of Georgia's independence and its territorial integrity and democracy as both a current and eternal (historical) aim of state policy. In March 1992, the equally illegal State Council was formed; a number of active persons and political groups and, first and foremost, Council Member J. Ioseliani, invited E. Shevardnadze from Russia to be its leader. Although Shevardnadze had success abroad in the first few months, in particular the breaking of Georgia's international isolation, his administrative practice also contained steps directed against Georgia's interests, namely the armed campaign in Samegrelo [western Georgia] in March 1992, the failure to implement reforms, and the granting of a peacekeeping status to Russian Armed Forces in the Tskhinvali region [South Ossetia], in which the deviant inclination to regulate Georgia's internal affairs by means of a foreign force, which subsequently became systematic, was manifested with particular clarity. In addition, the official ideology of E. Shevardnadze and his team was based on a recognition of national freedom, independence, and territorial integrity and democracy. It was on the basis of these fundamental tenets that E. Shevardnadze and the parties allied to him contested the 1992 elections and won in spite of the big military defeat suffered by Georgia in the Gagra zone [Abkhazia], which, along with military incompetence, was, according to public opinion and in reality, the result of the greatest irresponsibility and treachery that had become systematic. The results of the 11 October elections are legal and the Parliament created on their basis is also legal as the elections were conducted correctly in spite of such a voluntaristic element as the inclusion of the head of Parliament on the ballot paper independent of Parliament; in addition, when Chairman of Parliament E. Shevardnadze assumed the function of head of state and, thereafter, the additional powers that he has today, the Georgian Parliament remained within the sphere of his jurisdiction. However, there subsequently began the process of the acquisition of new powers by the head of state or the gradual usurpation of additional power by him; in many cases, this usurped power was used contrary to Georgia's interests and the head of state used his legal powers in the opposite direction to that declared in his election program, namely, in the opposite direction to Georgia's freedom, independence, and territorial integrity and democracy. Specifically:

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1. Contrary to the rules governing the parliamentary elections and the law on the status of a member of Parliament that prohibit combining parliamentary membership with specific posts, the head of state appointed about twenty members of Parliament to such posts while at the same time allowing them to keep their powers as deputies. In this way, he increased the number of his supporters in Parliament.

2. At the same time, for months now, the head of state has not submitted to Parliament for ratification the question of persons appointed by him to the most important positions. Today, the minister of the economy, the minister of agriculture, the minister for social protection and labor, the chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and Georgia's ambassadors in five countries of the world are carrying out their functions without having been confirmed in their posts.

3. In violation of the law, he has ignored the expiration of the term of office of bodies created as a result of local elections and has not held new local elections up to now—seven months after their term expired—so that local power can fall into the hands of administrators appointed by him himself and, in this way, an advantage can be gained at the next elections.

4. He bears responsibility for the illegal cessation of work of the Ajarian Supreme Council and the consequences of this.

5. He is ignoring Point 6 of Article 17 of the Law on State Power according to which the head of state is obliged to deliver an annual report to Parliament on the country's domestic and external situation.

6. As chairman of Parliament and head of state, he signed the treaty on Georgia's adherence to the rules of the CIS and, thereby, acted against Georgia's freedom and independence and, by using the numerical supremacy achieved by the aforementioned (Point 1) violation of the law, he managed to get this treaty ratified in Parliament by a majority vote. At the same time, the Law on State Power was violated when, by again using his power, he recognized as legal a decision on a question concerning a constitutional matter that was adopted by a simple majority.

7. The head of state has ignored the Parliament Resolution of 25 February 1993 "on Russian Military Units Located on the Territory of Abkhazia" in which it is stated: "1. To view as impermissible the future location of Russian military units on the territory of Abkhazia. 2. To entrust the chairman of Parliament-head of state to enter into negotiations with the president of the Russian Federation on the withdrawal of Russian military units from the conflict zone."

8. He has also not fulfilled the requirements of the Parliament Resolution of 27 April 1993 "on the Withdrawal of Russian Federation Military Units From the Abkhazian Conflict Zone": "1. The Georgian head of state is to consult the Russian president on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Abkhazia. 2. In the event that this requirement is not fulfilled, the Abkhazian conflict zone stretching from the north-west of the Gumista river to the Russian-Georgian border is to be viewed as territory occupied by the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia head of state... is to raise the corresponding question of bringing into force mechanisms provided for by international law with the UN Security Council and other international organizations."

9. He has not sent a note of complaint either to the UN or Russia concerning armed aggression by Russia against Georgia and has thereby given Russia a free hand to continue this aggression and reap its fruits. Furthermore, already following the cessation of the armed conflict, he confirmed to the UN Georgia's consent and willingness to the granting of a UN mandate to Russia's Armed Forces to act on the territory of Abkhazia and, by so doing, on behalf of Georgia, he sanctioned the hostile actions that are being constantly taken by Russia against Georgia.

10. At the time when the situation in Sukhumi was dangerous but not lost, he allowed his representative to sign an agreement on the withdrawal of combat equipment from Sukhumi, which reduced to almost zero the probability of Sukhumi and the rest of Abkhazia remaining in Georgian hands.

11. In conditions when there was no longer the prospect of a worsening of the military situation of the Georgian side or a future assault by the opponent in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, he allowed his representative to sign an agreement on the deployment of Russian "peacekeeping" troops at the Enguri river and so destroyed every chance Georgia had of exerting an influence on processes taking place on the territory of Abkhazia, including the process of the genocide of the Georgian population.

12. E. Shevardnadze allowed his representative to sign a document on the unconditional withdrawal of Georgian Armed Forces from Abkhazia without insisting on the disarmament of the Abkhazian side at the time and, by so doing, created conditions for both the continuation of the genocide of Georgians and the destruction of the population and armed forces in the Kodori gorge; he also permitted them to sign a document that creates the prospect of a settlement of the question of Abkhazia's status that is unacceptable to Georgia.

13. Contrary to the Parliament resolution on allowing the coupon to be the sole means of payment, he did not demand from the Russian Government that Russian Armed Forces stationed in Georgia be paid solely in coupons and, by so doing, contributed to the devaluation of the Georgian coupon, the collapse of the Georgian economy, and the starvation of the population that has only coupons.

14. The head of state and commander in chief of the Armed Forces is unilaterally orienting himself toward

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Russia in the matter of the organizational development of the Armed Forces, which enables Russia to ensure permanently the supremacy of any armed group over the Georgian Armed Forces in the sphere of weaponry and tactics and inflict defeat upon the Georgian Armed Forces at any time by using any detachment based in Georgia or outside the country.

15. The head of state is conducting negotiations on the transfer of military bases to Russians. This is a violation of Points A and B of Article 2 of the Law on the Defense of the Republic of Georgia according to which a) Georgia is a neutral country and b) Georgia protects its independence and territorial integrity and sovereignty on all of its territory with its own forces.

The actions listed in Points 4-15 give grounds for concluding that the policy of Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] E. Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament-head of state, is being determined in the sphere of Georgian-Russian relations not in the interests of Georgia but in those of Russia following a conspiracy with a foreign force, as a result of which it should be viewed as a policy imposed by a foreign force. This policy runs counter to Batoni E. Shevardnadze's election program according to which the electorate voted for him in the 1992 parliamentary elections and, as such, he does not express the will of the electorate. As a result of the circumstances mentioned, the signing of documents regulating Georgian-Russian relations by Batoni E. Shevardnadze and his personal representative, namely, the Dagomys agreement and the agreements of 4 April and 14 May and Georgia's adherence to the rules of the CIS should be renounced while the documents themselves should be recognized as invalid.

[Signed] The United Republican Party of Georgia, the "Republicans" Georgian parliamentary faction. [published in boldface and enlarged print]

The views of the United Republican Party of Georgia regarding E. Shevardnadze's government are known to society. This party believes that our catastrophe is made worse each hour that this government remains in office, but there is no mention in this statement of Shevardnadze's resignation or his remaining in his post since it deals with another specific matter.

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